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**THE CONTRIBUTION OF
INDIA TO ARABIC
LITERATURE**

THE
CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA
TO
ARABIC LITERATURE

From Ancient Times to the Indian Mutiny of 1857

*Submitted as a Thesis for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy to the University of London*

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TO
THE HAPPY MEMORY
of
Shamsu 'l-'Ulama' Muḥammad Shiblī Nu'mānī

FOREWORD

There can be few students of Arabic who have not had occasion to deplore the absence of detailed studies on all the later development of Arabic literature. The vast extent of that literature and the number of works still extant were first revealed by Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literature* and further emphasised by his later *supplement*. But for all its great merits, this supplied little more than the titles and catalogues references of the books it listed. Not only was there no means of estimating the value of the compositions of the several authors, but it was often difficult even to distinguish which of them were to be assigned to different subjects, unless one could consult the original catalogues.

Down to the present time, however, little has been done to supplement Brockelmann's work by detailed analysis and criticism of particular sections of later Arabic literature. This is the task which Dr. Zubaid Ahmad has set himself to fulfil for the Arabic literature produced in India or by Indian scholars. It is true that, as he takes occasion to point out, most of this later writing shows little originality in conception, though it is by no means devoid of originality in execution. Further, Arabic scholarship in India concentrated almost entirely on scholastic works related more or less closely to the religious sciences, and it rarely ventured into the realms of pure literature or even of history. Yet it would be utterly mistaken to regard it as unimportant or to limit its importance to the few more outstanding works. Not only does it furnish the indispensable background to the active

religious life of Muslim India, but its influence has been felt throughout the Muslim world, both directly and indirectly. Such men as Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi and Sayyid Muḥammad Murtadā have contributed essential elements to the present currents of thought in Islam, and the influence of Indian Sūfism has probably been no less effective in the Western Asiatic Lands.

By his clear arrangement and his careful summaries, Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad has performed a valuable service which illuminates a hitherto obscure branch of Arabic Literature and sets it in its true perspective. Students of Arabic and all students of Islam will be grateful to him, and will hope that his example may encourage others to undertake similar researches in this immense and little-worked field.

H. A. R. GIBB

PREFACE

This dissertation was submitted to the University of London in 1929. The Board of Examiners, one of whom was the late Professor Reynold A. Nicholson of the University of Cambridge, approved it for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After returning to India, I regret to say, owing to circumstances over which I had no control, I could not get sufficient time to revise the work as thoroughly as I desired. Moreover, its publication was unavoidably delayed. In a work like this it was necessary to make use of diacritical marks and no press at Allahabad found it possible to carry out my instructions. With great difficulty I succeeded in persuading the Juvenile Press to take the work in hand, and its proprietor got some letters with diacritical marks founded for me, and the printing began as early as 1937. But, to my great misfortune, this gentleman died and the work was consequently suspended until the press was re-started by his brother. He had hardly printed a few forms when he wound up his business and sold the press and the types to persons with whom it was impossible for me to make any arrangements. Then I made efforts to persuade the Dikshit Press to take up the work but by the time the printing was resumed, the war had broken out and the scarcity of paper and other difficulties which it entailed stood in my way. Naturally the progress was very slow and disappointing. When the printing was at long last finished, another difficulty arose. I had always wished that my book should be brought out with a foreword by Professor Gibb of Oxford but to despatch the book to England

was impossible during the war and for this reason I had to wait until the situation was easier. .

The subject of the present dissertation is "The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature up to the end of the Mughal period (1857)". The term 'literature' is to be taken in its general sense—as comprising all forms of literary activity in some particular language.

Much has been written on the history of Arabic literature and much still remains to be written. The chief characteristic of the Western method of scientific investigation is to divide a subject into as many divisions and sub-divisions as are convenient and useful for the purpose in hand, and then to make researches in one of the branches according to one's own taste and field of activity.

Tha'alibi (d. 429/1038) was probably the first person to treat the history of the Arabic poets of a certain period by arranging them according to the country to which they belonged.* But he omits India. Brockelmann has followed the same principle in accordance with the more comprehensive scope of his great history of Arabic literature. He is the first writer to devote a separate chapter, brief though it is, to India under different periods.† After him no one seems to have followed a similar geographical arrangement in a history of Arabic literature. Accordingly, an attempt is made

*His work *Yattmat al-Dahr* is said to have been composed on the lines of Harun b 'Ali's *Kitab al-Bari* (vide *Khalifah* II, 4). But no copy of this work is at present known to exist and so it is not known whether Harun also arranged the accounts of the poets whom he dealt with in his book according to the countries to which they belonged.

†Brockelman's *Geschichte*, Vol. II, pp. 219-222; 415-422 503-504.

in the following pages to give an account of such Arabic literature as was produced in India or by Indians.

Connotation of the Term "Indian Work".

Here I may define what I mean by an Indian Arabic work. Any Arabic work produced by Indians, whether in India or outside India and also by non-Indians while resident in India, falls within the scope of the present subject. It may be objected that works produced by Indian writers outside India ought to be assigned to the countries in which they were domiciled, if India is to receive the credit of such Arabic literature as was written in India by foreigners. But in both the cases there are special reasons for such an inclusion. India has always been regarded as a country of enormous wealth, and the courts of Indian kings and princes have always been centres of attraction for a large number of scholars moved by a desire for fame or riches. If learned men came to India and composed books here this was due to the encouragement and patronage afforded to them by the princes and nobles of this country. But such was not the case in other countries. Every Indian who went abroad did so merely in search of further knowledge, having already acquired a high education in his native country. He did not receive any special encouragement or support in foreign courts. If he left India for good and settled permanently elsewhere, it was due to his finding his new surroundings more congenial for the realisation of his research aspirations. Indian scholars travelled to foreign countries in order to complete their education, while many great foreign scholars were attracted to India by the hope of receiving pecuniary aid in serving the cause of Arabic

literature. In the former case, she contributed to Arabic literature through the minds of her own enthusiastic sons, who even left their country for the sake of knowledge, while in the latter, she did the same through the rich purses of her generous children.

The Plan of the Dissertation

The contribution of India to Arabic literature may be divided into two periods, to wit, the pre-Islamic period, that is to say, from ancient times to the invasion of India by Mahmud Ghaznawi, and the Muslim period, i.e., from the times of the Ghaznawid Dynasty to the Indian Mutiny of 1857. As the material for the first period is very scanty, only one chapter is devoted to it; and the second and the most fruitful period of Indian Arabic literature, has been further divided into eleven chapters according to the various branches of Arabic literature as follows :—

1. Qur'anic literature; 2. *Hadith*; 3. *Fiqh*; 4. *Tasawwuf*; 5. Islamic Dogma and Scholastic and Controversial Theology and those religious books which do not satisfactorily come under any of the preceding sections; 6. Philosophy; 7. History, Biography and Travel; 8. Mathematics and Medicine; 9. Grammar, Lexicography and Rhetoric; 10. Ornate Prose and 11. Poetry. All these chapters with an introduction constitute the First Part of the book, and the Second Part contains a detailed list of all the Arabic works written in India or by Indians. A note on the arrangement of the list will be found prefixed thereto on page 23:

In presenting my work to the benevolent reader and to the equally benevolent critic, I must readily acknowledge that I am conscious of the many defects

and shortcomings that exist therein, and I presume many more will be pointed out by those who are competent to judge. For that I crave the sympathy and indulgence of both; for "whoever composes a book, makes himself a target" says a well-known Arabic proverb. It may be pointed out here that as the printing of the book has been done piecemeal and by different presses and in different years, the uniformity of type and paper could not be maintained.

The system of the transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by the late Professor Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs*, viz., ث = th ; ج = J ; ح = h ; خ = kh ; ذ = dh ; ز = z ; ص = s , ض = d ; ط = t ; ظ = z ; ع = ' ; غ = gh ; ق = q ; هـ = ' .

The final *h* which is generally omitted has been restored throughout and the vowel sounds which are commonly represented by *ai* and *au* have been transliterated by *ay* and *aw* respectively.

In conclusion, I wish to perform the pleasant duty of recording my gratitude to several friends and benefactors.

First, I wish to acknowledge most sincerely the great help and direction that I received from the late Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C. I. E., Professor of Arabic, under whose kind supervision I worked at the School of Oriental Studies, London.

I also wish heartily to thank Professor H. A. R. Gibb of Oxford who was very kind to me during my stay at the School of Oriental Studies, and who even now has been good enough to write a foreword for the book.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. C. A. Storey (then Librarian of the India Office Library and now Professor of Arabic at Cambridge), for the useful information and advice that he gave me.

I take this opportunity of recording a special debt of the sincerest gratitude to the Allahabad University Authorities in general and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., the then Vice-Chancellor of the University in particular for granting me facilities for proceeding abroad. In this connection I should also like to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Zahid Husain, C. I. E. (Now Financial Minister, Hyderabad State) without whose kind assistance it would have been difficult for me to pursue my studies in Great Britain.

I am also glad to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University and Dr. Saeed Hasan of Allahabad University in cheering me up and in not letting me feel homesick during my sojourn in London by their charming company.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Saghir Ahmad Jan, M.A., of the Commercial College, Delhi, who prepared the index.

I am also thankful to the late Mr. Madho Prasad, proprietor-manager of the Juvinile Press who printed almost half the book and to Mr. M. K. Dikshit who completed it.

There are many other scholars who have helped me at various stages by their suggestions and I am deeply indebted to them all for their assistance.

M. G. ZUBAID AHMAD

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INTRODUCTION

India and Arabic Literature.

Of all the countries that have ever been under a Muslim Government, India (with the exception of the Western Provinces of Sind, Multan and Balūchistan) and Turkey in Europe are among the few that have not been ruled by Arabs or by some Arabic-speaking people. Not only that, but India also, on account of her geographical position, could not enjoy such facilities for coming into direct contact with Arabian civilisation and the centres of Arabic learning as were possible for other countries, *e.g.*, Persia and Transoxania in the east, and Northern Africa in the west. Sind was annexed by the Arabs as early as the end of the first century of the Hijra, and it remained in their possession for some time, until Mu'tamid (256-279 A.H.) conferred the government of this province upon Ya'qūb b. Layth, the founder of the Ṣaffārid House; after his death two Muslim kingdoms of Arabs rose up on these Indian frontiers. But of their intellectual activities nothing is known.

Moreover, the Muslim population in India has always formed a small minority, and the strong forces of the rival literatures have always been active. Hence the Arabic literature produced in India is meagre, as compared with the Persian literature of this country.

But in spite of all these geographical and political disadvantages, Arabic could not be neglected by the Indian Muslims, seeing that it was the language in which their holy scriptures had been written, and was the key to the invaluable treasures of Islamic learning. How far India

has served the cause of this language is the subject matter of this thesis.

Arabic composition and compilation in India commenced just a little before the time when the general tide of Arabic activities all over the countries in which they had accomplished wonders, had already begun to subside and many branches of Arabic literature had ripened to such an extent that no fresh contribution to them could be expected. For instance, the Qur'ānic works and writings on *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh*, had become so numerous that any original work on the subject matter contained in them remained hardly possible, at least from the standpoint of a Muslim. Other departments of literature, such as philosophy, scholastic theology, mathematics, medicine and sciences, though ever capable of original contributions, had become stagnant for lack of originality on the part of the scholars concerned, and what had been achieved in these domains by the early thinkers was merely being commented on again and again, instead of receiving additions from the labours of succeeding generations of the learned.

Under these circumstances any originality in the contribution of India to Arabic literature cannot be looked for. On the other hand, it would be unjust to undervalue her contribution, meagre though it may appear.

It is curious that, generally speaking, there is little or no difference between the Arabic works produced in India and those of the contemporary writers of other countries. The reason is not far to seek. It is due to *Taqlīd*, carried on blindly in India as elsewhere in the Muslim world. As long as the Muslim world had not fallen victim to this great hindrance to the advancement of learning it achieved wonders in every branch of human study; but after it had been overtaken by *Taqlīd*, all its progressive activities ceased. As far as Arabic literature and Arabian culture are concerned, Muslims achieved what they did achieve

before the Mongol invasion, which, by the destruction of the Caliphate, made Persia free for ever from acknowledging an Arab ruler even nominally and checked that strong current of progress and development which characterized the literature and culture of the past. Then followed an age of mere imitation and compilation. Though there was no paucity of erudite scholars and literary activities showed no sign of diminution, yet, with a few exceptions, no originality can be pointed out in the works of the later periods. The whole Muslim world became the slave of *Taqlīd*; and in every branch of learning the *Muta'akhlkhirūn* became blind followers of the *Mutaquddimūn*. The decisions of the predecessors were accepted as final solutions of every problem, and thus the learning of the Muslim world became so systematised and uniform that no violation, however healthy and beneficial, was possible.

The conditions of the Muslims of India was even worse. Other countries had had their times of free thinking; but in India Muslim literary activities began at a time when the Muslim world outside India had already fallen into the slough of *Taqlīd*, and the Muslim scholars of India consequently regarded Arabic learning with such awe that they could not shake off the bondage of *Taqlīd*. They had no wish to deviate from the following of the *Mutaquddimūn* or to invent anything new; e.g., when Fayḍī wrote his commentary, entitled *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām* the orthodox theologians raised an objection that to write a commentary in such a style devoid of dotted letters, was an innovation; to which the shrewd commentator replied that the very first creed of Islām لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله is devoid of dotted letters. They were so afraid of innovations that even in secular literature, they only slavishly imitated and vehemently supported their views. Commentating was felt to be what the case demanded, and constituted the pious office of the custodian of the learning which previous generations had bequeathed.

Moreover, Islām has never fettered itself under geographical boundaries, as some Muslim Scholar has once very aptly remarked, that as there is no English Mathematics, German Astronomy or French Chemistry, so there is no Turkish, Arabian, Persian or Indian Islam. And so it is no wonder that there should be little or no difference between the Arabic literature produced outside India and that produced in India. The *Ḥanafī Fiqh* of India, for instance, is the same as that of any other country. The *Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīrī*, composed here is as reliable and authentic in Egypt as it is in India. The same is the case with the Indian commentaries on *Ḥadīth* and the Qur’ān. Slight differences, corresponding to the ancient customs and usages of a country find no place in the books on *Fiqh*, and are only to be found in the legal statutes of the State, if there are any such. *Fatāwā* for the settlement of new problems are always based upon the old authorities which are common to all Muslim countries. India has produced many books entitled *Fatāwā*, the most important being *Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīrī*. The great Indian work on *Uṣūl-i-Fiqh*, the *Musallam al Thabūt* by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī is given a place, second only to the early standard works.

As regards *Ḥadīth*, the only work left for the later generations was to arrange and re arrange them in different ways and to compose commentaries upon them. India has performed both these tasks. Works such as *Kanz al ‘Ummāl*, *Lam‘at Tanqīh* and *Musawwā* are of this type.

As to the Qur’ānic literature, the Prophet had forbidden his followers to comment upon any Qur’ānic verse without reference to *Ḥadīth*; and so *Ḥadīth* is inevitable for *Tafsīr* also. After the authoritative collections of *Ḥadīth* had been made, there was no special demand for original commentaries. People, however, went on writing commentaries from various points of view, and are still writing them; but the sources are the same. India produced two commentaries

that are entirely original as far as the style is concerned; one is *Swāṭi' al Ilhām* in which dotted letters have been throughout avoided, and the other is *Jubb Shaghhab* in which dotted letters only have been used.

. As regards scholastic theology, one may say that this field is so vast that there will always be some scope for original work; but this branch of learning after a time became so stagnant that nothing new outside India was achieved. In India, however, Shāh Walī Allāh wrote *Ḥujjat Allāh al Bālighah*, which, if not entirely original, contains a considerable amount of originality, and its merits have been duly recognised by Muslim scholars in other countries also.

As regards *Tasawwuf*, hardly any country showed any originality after composition of the standard works on the subject. India produced *Jawāhir-i-Khamsah* which is original as far as those astrological aspects of Ṣūfī practices are concerned which have been taken from, or influenced by, Hindū learning. A reference may be made to Muḥibb Allāh Allahbādi's Ṣūfīistic works which though not original are highly valuable and meritorious.

As to philosophy, in producing commentaries and super-commentaries which, with a few exceptions, constitute the whole of the philosophical composition of the Muslim authors after the golden age of Islamic learning, India has not lagged behind. Logic has chiefly appealed to the mind of the Indian Muslim; and after the composition of the standard works on logic, in no other country has such a book been written as *Sullam al 'Ulūm* by Muḥibb Allāh, an Indian scholar.

As regards history, belles lettres, and poetry, India has not achieved much in these branches of Arabic literature, as compared with other countries; and the reasons are obvious. Arabic was never spoken in India, and the language of the Muslim rulers was Persian. Yet Ghulām 'Alī Āzād was no mean poet, and he left behind seven

Diwāns in Arabic, possessed of distinguished characteristics, and has shown some originality in his poetry.

In the matter of lexicography, it may be said that important books such as '*Uḡab*, '*Tāj al 'Arūs*, etc., are works by Indian scholars. In grammar, '*Irshād*, by *Shihāb al Dīn* is arranged on original lines as far as the plan and style of the book are concerned. In rhetoric new figures of speech were invented by *Amīr Khusrāw* and *Āzād*, who also introduced some Sanskrit literary devices into Arabic literature.

As regards mathematics, after the classical and golden period of Islamic culture, very little was produced in the Arabic language in this branch. During the later period, *Bahā' al-Dīn* was a great mathematician in Persia, and his '*Khulasāt al-Ḥisāb*, a treatise on arithmetic, was commented upon by more than one scholar in India.

In medicine, apart from commentaries and glosses, on the standard works, '*Qarābādīn* (books on medical remedies) have been written in India, and they contain the results of the personal experiments and researches of the authors.

In regard to the commentaries and glosses compiled in India, it may be stated generally that they are often more useful and more copious than those produced outside India. For instance, *Ḥājji Khalifah* speaks highly of the glosses of ' *Abd al-Ḥakīm* wherever he mentions them. Professor Margoliouth has, to the credit of India, expressed his appreciation of a '*Ḥashīyat al Bayḍāwī* composed in India, in his preface to *Chrishtomathia Baidawiana*.¹

Arabic being altogether a foreign language in India, Indian Muslims have naturally taken greater pains in elucidating the linguistic difficulties of Arabic literature than the people of any Arabic-speaking country. Notes and glosses written by Englishmen on English books are, from

¹ Luzac ed., 1894 p. VI.

the standpoint of an Indian student, not so useful as those written by Indian authors.

*Comparison between the Contribution of India
to Arabic and to Persian Literature.*

• In India Persian had some advantages over Arabic. Persian is an easy language, and was moreover the official language of the rulers of India for nine centuries. Further, there is direct communication between India and Persia, while the sea cuts off India from Arabic-speaking countries. Hence the contribution of India to Persian literature has been greater than to Arabic. Yet in the domain of theology, philosophy and the sciences in India, not much has been written in Persian, as is also the case in Persia itself. For instance, as regards the Qur'ānic literature, we find that in India only a few commentaries have been written in Persian. Mr. Storey's *Persian Literature* shows that in India there exist about twenty books written on Qur'ānic topics in Persian. Out of them only four or five are full commentaries on the whole Qur'ān. The hold that Arabic had on Muslim theology, even in India, may be judged from the fact that when Shāh Wali Allāh translated the Qur'ān into Persian, the Mawlawis of his age became so antagonistic to him that they wanted to kill him.²

• Very little has been written in Persian in India on logic, philosophy and scholastic theology ; the resources of this language have rather been employed in the composition of fiction and history, and belles lettres ; while on the other hand, Arabic has been very little used in India for such purposes. But just as the reputation of Amir Khusraw and Faydī as two Indian poets of Persian is unquestionable, similarly, Āzād has earned a name as an Arabic poet of India. Undoubtedly the mass of Persian historical and poetical literature in India is enormous. Much has been

² Muḥammad Rahīm Bakhsh, *Hayāt-i-Walī* (حیات ولی) p. 231, 2.

written on Sūfism also. But in spite of the abundance of Persian literature produced in India, nothing original is found in these contributions. Of course the contents of new histories constitute new material, but such composition does not connote originality. India has also produced some historical literature in Arabic. In Sūfistic literature, again, we recognise the same lack of fresh contributions. The Persian poetry of India was merely an imitation of the poetry of Iran. If Persian poetry produced in India differs from the poetry of Persia, it differs not in form or spirit, but in artificiality, in richness of imagination and obscurity of metaphors. The Persian poetry of India is much more artificial, more fanciful and more ornate than the poetry of Persia; accordingly, the poetry of 'Urfi and Faydī is much more appreciated in India and Turkey than in Persia, and a native critic of Persia has remarked of 'Urfi that he was a poetical genius but the environments and surroundings of India spoiled his poetry.³ Characteristics of a similar nature are found in the Arabic poetry produced in India.

This comparison shows that original contributions, in the true sense of the phrase, are hardly to be expected in the case of a foreign literature. So if India has not made original contributions to Arabic literature, we need not be surprised, to say nothing of the fact that genuine originality in literature is hard to find. Further, it is true that India has not made such rich and abundant contributions to Arabic literature as made by the Arabic-speaking countries or those countries which are nearer to Arabia and have had easier and more direct communication with the centres of Arabic learning. Still the achievements of India in this direction are, in view of her geographical and political position, as much as can reasonably be expected of her.

³ Muhammad Husayn Azād, *Sukhandān-i-Fārs* (سخن‌دان فارس) chapter on the characteristics of Persian in India.

Here may be given a succinct but coherent account of Arabic scholarship and authorship under the various Muslim ruling dynasties in India.

THE 'ARAB GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Sind and Multan were the first provinces of India to be conquered by the 'Arabs. In the very scanty sources of information which have come down to us regarding the history of the 'Arab occupation of Sind there is practically nothing to be learnt about the literary activities of the Muslims there. Mas'udi in his account of the towns of Mansurah and Multan, which he describes as flourishing and prosperous at the time of his visit in 303-4/915-16 makes no mention whatever of men of learning, although Maqdisi speaks of some scholars in Mansurah, one of whom being Qadi Abu Muhammad Mansuri⁴. According to Maqdisi, the Qadi was a follower of Imām Dā'ud, the Zāhirite, and an author of many works.

Still it is unlikely that these two towns which were in a flourishing condition under the rule of the 'Arabs were devoid of any scholar, and we find that Abu Ḥafṣ, *Muḥaddith* of Baṣrah, who, according to one authority, was the first Muslim to compose a book, went to Sind in the early days of the conquest⁵. Being a *tab' tābi'in* (Companion of the Companions of the Prophet's Companions), he must have been the fountain-head of the narration of *Hadith* there, and we may, with some probability assume that the Mansurah (Bhakkar), Daybūl (Thattah) and Multan were the first towns in India to become seats of Islamic learning. During this period many Indians, whether Muslim or Hindu, went to

⁴ Maqdisi, p. 749.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, VII 2. p. 36.

Arabia. Ibn Nadīm mentions two names of Hindu scholars, Mānka, the Indian, and the son of Dhan or Dhun, the Indian, with whose help some books were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic.⁶ None of these renderings is known to exist except a small treatise by Shānāq on poisons.⁷ Sam'ānī has given several names of the Muslim scholars under 'Daybuli', 'Sindhī', 'Lāhūrī' and 'Maṣūrī'.⁸

Maṣūrah, however, soon lost its importance, and about 980 A. D. Multan was seized by the Karmathians who made it a seat of their own propaganda.

Many names of the scholars and theologians that Sind produced after it was annexed by the Sultān of Delhi, have come down to us; among whom mention may be made here of a great saint Bahā'u 'd-Dīq-Zakariyyā of Multan (d. 661/1262) and of Abu Ḥanīfah Sindhī who was a Qāḍī at Bhakkar during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and who was met by Ibn Battūṭah in 734/1333.⁹ He was followed by many scholars such as Raḥmatullāh (d. 993/1535) Abu't-Tayyib Sindhī who flourished in the tenth century of the Hijra, Shaykh Ḥamīd b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1009/1600), Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥādī (d. 1138/1728), Muḥd. Ḥayāt Sindhī (d. 1163/1653), Ḥajjī Ḥāshim (d. 1174/1663) and Muḥd. 'Ābid Sindhī (1257/1341). All of them were authors and were well-versed in *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, on which they wrote books, some of which have been mentioned in the present work.

THE GHAZNAWIDS (388-582/998-1186)

The 'Arabs were followed by the Ghaznawids.

⁶ Ibn Nadīm (Cairo edition), p. 342.

⁷ For a short account of the book refer to p. 7 of this present work.

⁸ Sam'ānī's *Ansab*, pp. 237, 313b, 497 and 543 respectively.

⁹ *Nuzhatu 'l-Khawatir*, p. 7.

Their great leader Mahmud was a champion of learning and culture and extended his patronage to some of the most distinguished scholars from remote Asiatic countries who flocked to his Court. He was interested chiefly in Persian, but his knowledge of Arabic was by no means slight. He took a keen interest in the learned discussions of the scholars of the Shāfi'i and Hanafi schools. Not only that, he wrote also a book on *Fiqh* entitled *Al-Farid fi 'l-furū'* of which Hajji Khalifah has made mention in commendable terms¹⁰. It was during his reign that Al-Biruni came to India to study Hindu culture and learning and to collect materials for his famous book *Kitābu 'l-Hind*. This scholar dedicated his *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdi* to Mahmud's son, Mas'ud. He also wrote *al-Jamāhir fi'l-Jawāhir* and *Al-Dastūr* for Sultān Mawdud. It was Mas'ud who made Lahore the capital of the Ghaznawid dominions east of the Indus, and from that time this city has always been a seat of Islamic learning and has produced many eminent scholars and authors. Shaykh Muḥd. Isma'il (d. 448/1056), the first *Muḥaddith* and *Mufasssīr* to enter India proper, settled at Lahore during the reign of this king¹¹. Mention may be made here of Mas'ud b. Sa'd b. Salṃān who was attached to the court of Mas'ud III. He was an eminent poet and composed verses in three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

THE GHURIDS (82-602/1186-1206)

A few names of Muslim scholars who flourished in India under this short-lived Ghurid dynasty have come

¹⁰Hajji Khalifah under the title.

¹¹Tadhkirah, p. 23 and p. 179.

down to us. Of them, the most important is Khwājah Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Chishtī (d. 634/1236) who is rightly regarded as the greatest Muslim saint of India. He came to India in 556-/1161 accompanied by his great disciple Qutbu 'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and staying for some days at Lahore and for about five years at Multan, he finally settled at Ajmir. He was residing there when Prithwī Rāja of Delhi and Ajmir was defeated and killed by Muḥd. Ghūrī in 588/1192. He was mainly responsible for the spread of 'Islām in Rajputana and after him, his disciples spread all over India, Qutbu 'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī being deputed to go to Delhi.

Another foreign scholar who might be said to have been connected in a way with India under the Ghūrids was the great Muslim scholastic Imām Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Rāzī who was attached to the Ghūrīd Court and was held in great esteem by both the Ghūrī brothers¹³. But as the capital of the Ghūrīd House was Ghaznah and not Lahore, the Imām's sojourn in India must have been short and occasional.

THE SLAVE DYNASTY (502-689/1206-1290)

Qutbu 'd-Dīn, the founder of this dynasty was the first Muslim king to make Delhi the capital of Muslim Government in India and so Delhi soon became another great centre of Islamic learning in this country.

In the time of Iltutmish we find that several scholars sought refuge at Delhi after the sack of Bukhārā by Chingiz khān.¹⁴ During his reign an eminent Muḥaddith and philologist named Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī of

¹³Subhah, 26 ; Amir Khusraw's preface to his *Ghurrau 'l-Kamal*.

¹³Bada'uni, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁴Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 115. •

Lahore was attached to his court as ambassador of the 'Abbaside Caliph at Baghdad.¹⁵

By the time of Balban, Delhi had become such a large and important centre of learning and such a favourite resort of scholars as to merit the enthusiastic praises sung in its honour by Amir Khusraw who compared the city very favourably with the educational centres of Central Asia.¹⁶ Indeed as the Mughals were still sacking the centres of culture in central Asia and other countries, many of their princes and learned men sought shelter at Delhi at this time, and thus increased the output of its learning. Firishṭah says that Balban's reign was *Khayru 'l-a'sār* (the best period) in which flourished many scholars and saints in India.

No Arabic works of Indian authors belonging to the Ghaznawid and Ghurid dynasties seem to have come down to us, but some of the books written by the scholars of this period are still extant. The most important author under the Slave Dynasty is the eminent traditionist and philologist, Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī of Lahore, (d. 610/1252) already referred to. Several of his works have come down to us of which the *'Ubb* and the *Mashāriḡu 'l-anwār* are the most important. A book by Shaykh Jamāl Hansawī (d. 669/1260) who was one of the great Khalīfahs of the Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shikarganj, is also extant. Muḥd. b. Ismā'īl who had migrated to Delhi from outside India wrote a book on *Fiqh* and that also exists, but all the works of Qādī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn of Nāgor (d. 605/1208) who wrote several books seem to have perished.

THE KHALJĪ DYNASTY (689-720/1290-1320)

Sulṭān Jalālu 'd-Dīn, the founder of this dynasty

¹⁵ Refer to page 250 of this work.

¹⁶ Amir Khusraw's poem, *'Ashiqah*.

was also a patron of men of letters, as we may gather from the long list of learned men who flourished in his reign, recorded by his contemporaries and the later authors like Bāda'uni.¹⁷

Of his successor, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, however, Ḍiḡā'u 'd-Dīn Baranī tells us that "he was an illiterate person and never associated with men of learning."¹⁸ Yet we find that scholars and theologians such as Qāḡi Ḍiḡā'u 'd-Dīn Bayānawī, Zuhir-i-Lang and the Qāḡi Muḡhīḡhu 'd-Dīn were attached to his court. With the last mentioned Qāḡi, the Sultān had a long conversation which fortunately ended in a reward to the Qāḡi contrary to his expectation of being put to dath.¹⁹ On the authority of 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq²⁰ it may be pointed out that notwithstanding the illiteracy of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn and his want of kindness and sympathy towards the learned, his court was a great resort for the most learned and erudite scholars. Firishtah says that in no other age was such a large number of men of letters and science to be seen in Delhi as during this reign²¹ and has given the names of forty-six scholars and learned men of this period. But we know little about their literary productions as no Arabic work of any of them has come down to us. Amir Khusraw, the poet-laureate, used to compose poems in Arabic as well as in Persian. In his *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* he has given Arabic examples of his own composition, side by side with Persian, to illustrate all the rhetorical contrivances he invented. Of the learned men and scholars of this age, he has most highly praised Shihabu 'd-Dīn Ṣadr-nashīn for his learning and his mastery of

¹⁷ Bāda'uni, Vol. I, p. 181.

¹⁸ Baranī and Elliot, III, 158.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Elliot, VI, 485.

²¹ Firishtah, I, 212, 213,

the Arabic language, in which he used to compose elegant verses.²² Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā', one of the greatest saints and Sūfis of his age, whose Arabic *Khutabah* is still recited and admired in India, also flourished at this time. And it was during this reign that the learned *Muhaddith* Shamsu'd-Dīn came from Egypt to Multan to spread the studies of *Hadith* in India. He brought with him about four hundred works on *Hadith* and intended to present a commentary of his own to the Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn; but he found on arrival that the Sultān did not say his prayers nor did he visit the Mosque on Fridays, and this so greatly disappointed him that he returned forthwith to Egypt. But before leaving, he wrote a long and interesting letter to the Sultān which is contained in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Diyā' Baranī.

Before we leave the Khaljī Dynasty, a reference may be made to an Indian Muslim Shaykh Ṣafīyyu 'd-Dīn Hindī (d. 715/1315) who, having received his early education in India, went in pursuit of higher studies to Yaman and Egypt. He soon acquired celebrity for his great knowledge of scholastic theology and jurisprudence, and became known as a great author.

THE TUGHLAQ DYNASTY (720-815/1320-1414)

Sultān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn, the founder of the Tughlaq Dynasty, had a great respect for religion and learned men, and it is recorded that on one occasion when a polemical discussion was being held in his presence on the subject of *Samā'* (Sūfistic music) the leader of the controversy, Shaykh Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā', so skilfully defended its lawfulness that the Sultān, who had pre-

²² Amir Khusraw, *Dibachah-i-Ghurraṭ al-Kamal*.

viously held *samā'* to be unlawful, was converted to the opposite opinion.²³

The next Sultān of this house, Muḥammad b. Tughlāq was a versatile scholar and also a patron of learning. He deputed Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn 'Inrānī of Delhi, an eminent scholar and author of several works, to go to Shīrāz to induce Qādī 'Aḍudu 'd-Dīn Ijī, the author of the *Mawāqif*, to come to Delhi; but when the report of his mission was brought to the notice of Abū Ishāq, the ruler of Shīrāz, he did not allow the Qādī to leave his home.²⁴ Muḥammad bin Tughlāq also ordered another noted theologian, Shamsu 'd-Dīn Yahyā to proceed to Kashmīr to spread Islām there, but due to sudden illness he could not undertake the mission.²⁵

Yet, strangely enough, in spite of his being thus well disposed towards the learned, and himself a scholar, there was not the same concourse of the literati in Delhi under Muḥammad Tughlāq as there had been in the time of the illiterate 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn. We learn, indeed, from 'Abdu 'l-Haqq Haqqī that, after the reign of the last-named monarch, the standard of wisdom and erudition began to sink to a lower level, and although Sultān Muḥamad appreciated all kinds of learning, yet there was not such a number of learned men flourishing in his time as during the reign of that Khiljī monarch.²⁶

His successor Firūz, besides being one of the most pious Muslim kings of India, was a great scholar and patron of learning. His reign produced many authors, most of whom wrote books on *Fiqh*. Mention may be made here of such scholars as Mawlāna Khwājagī, the

²³Firishtah, Vol. II, 744.

²⁴Ma'athir, I, 185.

²⁵Tadhkirah, 86.

²⁶Elliot VI, 486.

teacher of Shihabu 'd-Din Dawlatabadi, Qāḍi Ḥamidu 'd-Din of Delhi, the author of a commentary of the *Hidāyah*, Ḥusāmu 'd-Din Dihlawi, the author of the *Bihāru 'z-zākhirah*, Aḥmad Thānesari, an Arabic poet whose *Qaṣīdatu 'l-dāliyyah* is admired for its beauty and elegance, and 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir, who also used to compose verses in Arabic of which *al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-lāmiyyah*, composed in reply to the *Lāmiyyatu 'l-'Ajam* is a master-piece.

Another patron of learning, attached to the Court of Firūz was Tatar Khān, under whose patronage a compendium of *Fiqh*, entitled *al-Fatāwā al-Tātār Khāniyyah* was composed by the eminent scholar 'Ālim b. 'Aṭa' Andapathi. Nor must we forget that Majdu 'd-Din Firuzabadi, the author of the well-known Arabic lexicon, *al-Qāmūs*, visited India during the reign of this Sultān.

While speaking of the scholars and authors of the Tughlaq period, mention may be made of 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī, who having studied under eminent theologians of Delhi, such as Wajihu 'd-Din Dihlawi, Shamsu 'd-Din Khaṭīb Dihlawi etc., went for further studies to Egypt where he rose so high as an erudite scholar that he was appointed to the post *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*. He was the author of several works.

It may be pointed out that besides Sind, Multan, Lahore and Delhi, Kashmir had also become a seat of Muslim learning by this time. A short account of the Muslim scholars of Kashmir will be given later on.

THE SAYYID DYNASTY (817-855/1414-1451)

This dynasty was very short lived; the last king having retired from Delhi, power was assumed by Bahlul Lodi, the founder of the new dynasty. The last repre-

sentative of the Sayyid Dynasty lived at Badā'un for thirty years, thus causing the town to rise into prominence as a new centre of Muslim learning.

THE LŪDĪ DYNASTY (855-930/1451-1526)

Bahlul Ladi, the founder of the new dynasty, gave a great impetus to Muslim scholarship during his reign. But under his son Sikandar, the most remarkable ruler of the dynasty, Agra became the Capital of the Empire and made such rapid progress that it soon became a rival of Delhi. It attracted men of letters and arts. This king was so fond of learning that he himself often used to attend the lectures of the learned 'Abd Allāh Tulanbī, an eminent scholar of high philosophical attainments, taking his seat unobtrusively so that his class might not be disturbed.²⁷

This 'Abd Allāh originally belonged to the district of Multan, but attracted by the royal patronage, he went to the court of Delhi, where he considerably raised the standard of philosophical studies which, like that of scholastic theology, had formerly been very low. A work of his on logic has come down to us.

Sikandar also attracted to his court at Agra the eminent *Muḥaddith* Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Muḥaqqiq Jalālū 'd-Dīn Dawwānī in philosophy and a pupil of the great traditionist Sakhawī in *Ḥadīth*. Before his arrival in India only *Fiqh* was studied in this country; but it was he who greatly encouraged the study of *Ḥadīth*. His pupil Abu 'l-Faṭḥ of Thanesar, who was one of the teachers of 'Abdu 'l-Qādir Badā'unī was also well-versed in this branch of Islamic learning.²⁸ Among other authors who flourished during the reign of this

²⁷Tadhkirah, 101.

²⁸Badā'unī, III, 129.

dynasty mention may be made of Abu 'l-Fada'il Sa'du 'd-Din of Delhi who wrote books on *Fiqh*.

It may be pointed out here that the Lodi Dynasty was not the only Muslim ruling house in India in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Muslim India was then divided into several kingdoms, most of them patronised Islamic learning and produced some Arabic scholars and writers. For a survey of Arabic scholarship and authorship, we have to refer to those kingdoms one by one.

PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES OF INDIA

Stanley Lane-Poole says in his *Mohammadan Dynasties* that "the Empire of Mohammad b. Tughlaq included the whole of Hindūstan, together with Telingana and other districts in the Deccan. Before his death the more distant provinces began to grow into independence, and soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century the greater part of his dominions was in the hands of seven provincial Mohammadan dynasties, besides the Hindu Rajas."²⁹ Now we take them up one by one.

GOVERNORS AND KINGS OF BENGAL

(599-984/1202-1576)

Bengal being much more remote from Arabia than any other part of India is, it is but natural that this province should have produced fewer Arabic authors of eminence. Moreover, its Muslim rulers took up the cause of the vernacular from the very beginning and so the Muslim authors of Bengal generally adopted Persian and Bengali as the vehicle of their thought and the medium of their composition. In this land

²⁹ Mohammadan Dynasty, p. 304.

Lakhnawati and Murshidabad were the chief centres of Islamic studies. In later times Būhār, a village in the district of Bardawn, also rose in prominence as a Muslim educational centre, where the intellectual magnet of Lucknow, 'Abdu 'l-'Alī, better known as Bahru 'l-'ulām (the ocean of learning) and his pupils lectured for some time.

The Governors and Kings of Bengal exercised their sway over Bihar also. No works of its early Arabic writers have come down to us ; but we have records of several authors of Bihar who flourished during the Mughal period. A reference will be made to some of them at the proper place.

SHARQI KINGDOM OF JAWNPUR

(796-905/1394-1500)

The Sharqi dynasty, though short-lived, patronised learning and education to such a degree that Jawnpur continued to be a great seat of Islamic studies long after the kingdom had been overthrown by the Imperial Dynasty. Shān-Jahān used to call it "Shirāz-i-Hind". One zealous king of this house, Ibrāhīm Sharqi, was a great patron of learning and was very fond of the company of learned men. The following anecdote, given by Firishtah,⁸⁰ illustrates the high esteem in which he held scholars and men of letters. Qādī Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī, an eminent scholar and author of the age, once fell seriously ill, and the king went to visit him. While sitting by the bed of the patient, he asked for a glass of water, and when it was handed over to him, he passed it three times around the learned invalid's head and then drank it, praying thus ; "O God ! let me endure all the troubles that my Qādī is destined to meet,

⁸⁰Firishtah, II, 595.

and restore him to health." This scholar, besides being a good theologian and jurist, was also a great grammarian and philologist and has left several works. Another author of this period is Ilāh-dād Jawnpūrī. But perhaps the most famous scholar that Jawnpūr has produced was Muḥammad Jawnpūrī (d. 910/1505) who, having claimed to be Maḥdiyy-i-maw'ūd (the promised Maḥdī) founded a new sect in Islām, the adherents of which are still found in Jaipur state and the Deccan.

During the Mughal period, many scholars and writers arose from Jawnpūr, such as 'Abdu 'l-Awwal (d. 968), Mullā Maḥmūd (d. 1062/1651) who was a great philosopher, 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd (d. 1083/1672), Mullā Jiwan (d. 1130/1718) etc. All of them have left good works. Amongst those scholars who shared jointly the composition of the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgiri*, we find some learned men of Jawnpūr also such as Mullā Ḥamid, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Jalālu 'd-Dīn etc.

The remnants of the past literary glory of this city are still to be found in the neighbouring towns. Chir-yākot and A'zamgarh, for instance, are still noted for learning. While the former has produced several scholars such as Qāḍī 'Aṭā Rasūl, Qāḍī 'Alī Akbar, Muḥd. Fāruq and 'Ināyat Rasūl, the latter has recently become a prominent centre of Islamic studies in India, through the efforts of the late Mawlānā Shīrī, one of the greatest scholars of Modern India who established here an academy called Dārū 'l-Muṣannifīn (home of authors) to which scholars resort from all parts of India.

THE KINGDOM OF MĀLWA (804-937/1401-1530)

The kings of Mālwa were great patrons of learning, especially Sultān Maḥmūd extended his patronage to scholars and learned men in his dominion. Among the

men of letters belonging to Malwa mention may be made here of one Shāh Aḥmad Sharʿī Chandairī (d. 928/1521) who was both a Ṣafrī and a scholar. The two couplets which he composed in Arabic in reply to the two, versified by the great Zamakhsharī, the author of the *Kashshūf* have come down to us.⁸¹

THE KINGDOM OF GUJARĀT (799-980/1396-1572).

Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadabad which soon became the capital of the kingdom and rose into prominence as a seat of learning where a large number of the literati and doctors of law were attracted by the generosity of the rulers. Before this kingdom was founded, pilgrims to the Hijāz generally travelled overland in preference to using the sea route, but when the rulers of Gujarāt grew more powerful and their sway extended up to the coast, they organised the sea traffic and thereby greatly facilitated the pilgrimage and attracted many 'Arab scholars to Aḥmadabad and the Deccan States. Hence the growth of Aḥmadabad as an important seat of Islamic learning.

During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh I, Nuru 'd-Dīn Shirāzī, a pupil of Sayyid Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥd. and a *Muḥaddith*, migrated from Persia to Aḥmadabad. Another scholar who came to Gujarāt was Wajihu 'd-Dīn Muḥd. Mālikī upon whom the king conferred the title of *Maliku 'l-Muḥaddithīn* (the king of traditionists). Both of them gave a great impetus to the study of *Ḥadīth* among the Muslims of Gujarāt. Mention may be made here of a third foreign scholar, Ibnu 'd-Damāmīnī, a native of Egypt, who came to India and composed some works for Aḥmad Shāh I.

Due to the facilities of communication between

⁸¹Tadhkirah, 84.

Arabia and Gujarat, the latter produced, during this period, many Arabic authors of repute. such as 'Alī b. Aḥmad Mahā'īmī (d. 835/1432) who wrote a commentary on the *Qur'ān* and a book on *Fiqh*; Qaḍī Chakan (d. 920/1514) who composed a compendium on *Fiqh*, Muḥd. b. Tāhir of Pattan (d. 986/1578) the author of an important dictionary of *Ḥadīth* etc. There was an author attached to the court of this kingdom who deserves special mention. He is 'Abd Allāh Muḥd. b. Sirajū 'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Nahrwālī al-Uluḡhkhani, called Ḥājī Dabīr (d. after 1020/1611) and wrote the history of Gujarat which has been edited in three volumes by Sir Deneson Ross, who has added a valuable introduction to it.

Aḥmadābād continued to produce Arabic authors long after the kingdom had been annexed by the Mughals. Among such authors, we may make mention of Sh. Wajīhū 'd-Dīn (d. 998/1589), Sayyid Šibḡat Allāh Barjī, 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydārūs (d. 1038/1628) and Nuru 'd-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1155/1742). All of them have left several works.

THE KINGDOM OF KHĀNDISH (801-1008/1399-1599)

Burbānpur, the capital of this kingdom was not behind in literary advancement and produced such scholars as 'Alī Muttaqī (d. 975/1567), the author of the *Kanzu 'l-'Ummāl*, Shāh Faḍl Allāh known as Nā'ib-i-Rasūl Allāh (d. 1005/1596) and Qaḍī Našīru 'd-Dīn (d. 1031/1621), whose son Shaykh Nizām-Burbānpurī was an eminent jurist under whose supervision the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī* was compiled by the order of Awrangzib.

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM (748-933/1347-1526)

Many scholars and theologians were attached to the court of this dynasty. Amongst them Mullā 'Abdu 'l-Ghānī Ṣadr, and Najmū 'd-Dīn Muftī may be mentioned here³²; but the author whose Arabic works have come down to us is the well-known Saint of the Deccan Sayyid Muḥd. known as Gisu-Darāz, a disciple of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Ghirāgh-i-Dihlī. He was held in great esteem and reverence by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. As for sometime the Bahmanids' sway extended to the Arabian sea, the 'Arab scholars of Surat and Mahā'im enjoyed the patronage of this dynasty.

THE FIVE DECCAN DYNASTIES

The decline of the Bahmanī kingdom was followed by the rise of five Deccan kingdoms of which three—the 'Ādil Shāhī House of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī House of Golkanda and the Nizām Shāhī House of Aḥmadnagar—are worthy of mention.

I. THE 'ĀDIL SHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF BIJĀPUR
(895-1097/1489-1686)

This House was noted for its patronage of learning and possessed a magnificent library containing a valuable collection of manuscripts, some of which are now in the India Office Library, London.³³ Bijāpur also attracted scholars from Arabia. Among them mention may be made of one Ḥasan b. 'Alī Shadqam (d. 1046/1636) who was an 'Arab and in his youth he came to India and attached himself to this Court.

³²Firishtah, See the account of Ahmad Shah Bahmani.

³³Loth Cat. of Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library (Preface).

He was an author and a poet. Another scholar worthy of note is Zaynu 'd-Dīn al-Ma'barī who dedicated his *Tuhfatu 'l-Mujāhidīn* to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

II. QUTB SHĀHĪ KINGDOME OF GOLKANDAH (918-1098/1512-1687)

Some of the kings of this line also attracted to their courts several scholars from Arabia, amongst whom was the father of Ibn Ma'sūm, the author of the *Sulāfatū 'l-'aṣr* and of several other works. It was in fact due to the generosity of this house that Ibn Ma'sūm himself came to India from Arabia. He has given a vivid account of his voyage in a book which has come down to us.

III. THE NIZĀM SHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF AHMAD- NAGAR (896-1004/1490-1595)

This House likewise attracted some Arabian scholars who dedicated their works to its rulers. Ahmad-nagar also produced some learned men. Amongst them mention may be made of Mullā 'Abdu 'n-Nabī who is the author of several works.

In this connection it should be noted that Southern India, on account of its geographical position and of the literary zeal of its rival kingdoms, had great opportunity for attracting to itself scholars from Arabia, and just as the Mughal courts had attached to them many poets and scholars of Persia, so the courts of the Deccan kingdoms extended their patronage to the poets and scholars of Arabia.

KASHMIR

It was Shāh Mirzā b. Tāhir of Khurāsān who introduced Islām into Kashmīr in the 14th century.

He came to Kashmir in 715/1315 and entered the service of the then ruling Hindu Prince. He soon became so popular and influential that he not only rose to the highest position in the state, but also he got hold of the royal throne. His grandson Sultān Sikandar was one of the most powerful kings of Kashmir. His son, Sultān Zaynu 'l-Ābidin (827-877/1423-1472) ruled the country gloriously for more than fifty years. He founded towns and built bridges and forts. He also enlarged and beautified the city of Srinagar, which was his capital. This country continued to be ruled by his descendants and successors until it was conquered by Akbar the Great, in 995/1586.

The first scholar and author of Kashmir who is worthy of notice is Amir Kabir Sayyid 'Alī (d. 786/1384), who, originally a resident of Hamadhān, migrated to Kashmir and settled there. He composed several works in Arabic, some of which have come down to us. His son, Sayyid Muḥd. was also an author. Amongst the authors next to them, mention may be made of Rādī Al-Dīn (d. 960/1253), Mullā Fīroz (973/1565) and Muḥammad Ya'qub who is reported to have met Ibn Hajar and to have received from him permission to narrate *Ḥadīth*.⁸⁴ He wrote several works in Arabic, but unfortunately none of them seems to have come to us. His two pupils, Khwajah Zaynu 'd-Dīn 'Alī and Mullā Shāngarī were also scholars and are also said to have met the above mentioned Ibn Hajar. Later on, this country produced many authors such as Mullā Amīn (1109/1697), Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin (1119/

⁸⁴If the dates of his birth and death as given in the *Tadhkirah -i-'Ulama'*, 978/1570 and 1003/1594 respectively, are correct, he could have met neither Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani (d. 852/1448) nor Ibn Hajar al-Haythami (d. 973/1468).

1707) and Nūr Muḥammad Bābā (1195/1780). One Qāḍī Haydar Kashmīrī joined the army of Aurangzīb who first appointed him a tutor to some of his sons and then a Qāḍī at Delhi. The emperor was so impressed by his scholarship and sense of justice that he (the emperor) conferred upon him the title of Qāḍī Khān.

MUGHAL DYNASTY: FIRST TWO EMPERORS

(932-946/1525-1539)

Both Bābur and Humāyūn were patrons of learning. Many scholars, Indian as well as foreign, were attached to their courts. The *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* contains a list of those saints and learned men who flourished in their times but so far as is known to the present author their Arabic works have become scarce.

THE AFGHĀN DYNASTY (946-962/1525-1555).

Shīr Shāh Surī and his son Salīm Shāh both were interested in Islamic learning and education and patronized men of-letters, amongst whom mention may be made of Shaykh Budh or Budhdhan of Bihār whom Shīr Shāh held in great esteem. He wrote a commentary on the *Irshād fi 'n-Nahw* of Shihābu'd-Dīn Dawlatabādī. During Shīr Shāh's time, Nārnawl, a town in the Eastern Rājputānā, further rose into prominence as a seat of Islamic learning. Mention may be made of 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpurī who was a favourite of Salīm Shāh. This scholar was afterwards attached to the court of Humāyūn and then to that of Akbar. He received the title Shaykh al-Islām and Makhdumu 'l-Mulk from Humāyūn. He was an author of some books.

THE MUGHAL DYNASTY (AGAIN)

(962-1275/1555-1857)

It may be observed here that the literary activities in Arabic increased in quality as well as quantity with each succeeding period of history. Thus under the

Mughal dynasty which represents the last epoch of Muslim rule in this country we find a larger number of Arabic authors than under any other dynasty which had ruled India. Some of the authors of this period have acquired name and fame even outside India and their works are greatly appreciated in Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. Amongst such authors mention may be made here of Fayḍī, 'Abdu'l-Haqq of Delhi, 'Abdu'l-Hakīm of Siyalkot, Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgram and Muhibb Allāh of Bihār.

After this general remark about the Mughal dynasty as a whole, we may take up the reigns of the important emperors of the House.

About Akbar there is a controversy as to whether he was literate or not; there is no doubt, however, that he was ignorant of Arabic. Yet he was certainly one of the greatest patrons of learning in India, and a large number of scholars, well versed in various arts and sciences, were attached to his magnificent court. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* all contain lists of the saints and learned men of his reign. Fayḍī, the poet laureate, had a wonderful mastery over the Arabic language, as is proved by his works, such as the *Sawāṭi' u 'l-Ilhām* and *Mawārid al-Kilām*, written throughout without the use of dotted letters. Nur Allāh Shustarī was an eminent scholar of the Shī'ite school and the author of several works. During Akbar's reign Mir Kalān, the traditionist, came to India from Herat. Akbar put him in charge of the education of his son Salīm.

Jahāngir, unlike his father, was well educated and also extended his patronage to scholars and learned men. The *Iqbāl Nāmāh* and *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* contain lists of the literati of his reign. Here special mention

may be made of 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq of Delhi who is credited with having encouraged the study of *Ḥadīth* among Indian Muslims and of *shaykh* Aḥmad Sarhindī who is rightly called *mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī* as he infused a new life into the Muslims of the second millennium and successfully counteracted the heretic activities of Akbar the Great.

But Shāhjahān was even more learned than his father, besides being of a religious turn of mind. He therefore gave a great impetus and encouragement to orthodox learning, and many scholars and learned men flourished during his long and prosperous reign, of whom Maḥmūd Jawnpurī, Nur al-Ḥaqq, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyalkūtī, 'Abd al-Rashīd, 'Abd al-Bāqī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhabād are the most famous. All of them are authors of several books.

'Ālamgīr was still a greater scholar and more pious and religious. He earnestly promoted the education of Muslims and the diffusion of Islamic learning throughout his empire.

Besides, he appointed a committee of learned theologians under the leadership of *Shaykh* Nizām, to compose a compendium on the Ḥanafī *Fiqh* and spent an enormous amount of money on this enterprise. This work is the *Fātāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, better known outside India as *al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah*. Some of the scholars who flourished in his reign are Mulla Jīwan, Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, Mir Zahid, and Quṭb al-Dīn Sihalawī all of whom have several works to their credits.

With the death of 'Ālamgīr, the power and glory of the Mughal Empire began to decline. Bahādur Shāh was fond of the company of learned men, but Muḥammad Shāh indulged shamefully in debauchery and luxury, and the succeeding kings had no power. But it is curious

to note that in spite of the rapid decay of the Mughal power after the death of 'Ālamgir and notwithstanding the lack of peace and order in the country, this period produced a large number of eminent scholars, amongst whom we may mention specially, 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgramī, Ghulam 'Alī Āzād, Sayyid Dildar 'Alī Shī'rī Mujtahid, Salam Allah Muḥaddith, Shah Walī Allah, Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abd al-'Alī Bahru 'l-'Ulum, Faḍl Imām, Faḍl Haqq Khayrabādī, Turāb 'Alī, Muḥammad Ḥasan, Muḥammad Muḥsin, Thana' Allah Panipatī, Ḥamd Allah, and Ahmad 'Alī of Sandila.

Arabic authorship continued unabated in India even after the final fall of the Mughal Dynasty in 1857. Although present work is not concerned with the literary activities of the subsequent period, it will not be out of place here, if special mention be made of authors like 'Abdu 'l-Hayy Firangimahallī and Nawwāb Siddiq Ḥasan of Bhopāl who have left a large number of Arabic works.

It may be pointed here that during the Mughal period also there arose several new seats of Islamic learning such as Siyālkot, Lucknow, Gūpanā'u, Khayrabād, Rampūr etc.

From all that has been said above about the literary activities of the Mughal period, it may be concluded that it was the golden age of Muslim India, also from the point of view of the development and importance of Arabic authorship.

In the end it may also be noted that the East India Company contributed a great deal to the cause of Muslim learning in India by the establishment of the famous *Madrasah* at Calcutta.

CHAPTER I

CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE DURING THE PRE-GHAZNAWID PERIOD.

The most important contribution of India to Arabic literature undoubtedly begins with the Ghaznawid period, the tenth century A.D.; but she also certainly made some contributions to Arabic, in respect of vocabulary and otherwise, from a much earlier period. However insignificant they may be, they deserve notice. But before enumerating them, some account may be given of the relations between India and Arabia during the pre-Ghaznawid period.

Legendary Relation.

Legend speaks of relations between these two countries, before the dawn of history. In the *Ḥadīth* literature there are many traditions which refer to the legend that Adam, the father of mankind, being driven out of Paradise, alighted on the peak, called after him, of a mountain in Ceylon.¹ When his repentance was accepted by God, he was brought to 'Arafāt near Mecca where he met Eve who had been thrown down at Jiddah. These traditions are not only found in the religious literature of Islām but also in works of history and geography. For example, we find this legend in the works of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), Maqdisi (d. 375/985) and Yāqūt-al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1228).²

¹ Tabarī, *T'arikh*, I., 119 and following pages and Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Commentary on the verse, I. 28.

² Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārīf* (Gottingen), p. 9. Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 13 and Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, V., 74.

In the legend there is a controversy about the place of the death of Adam. According to one or two traditions he is said to have died in Ceylon.³

He is also said to have made many pilgrimages, not less than forty, to Mecca, going back to Ceylon every time.⁴

It is also asserted that the Black Stone of the *Ka'bah*, in the form of a brilliant ruby, fell from Paradise along with Adam and was carried to Mecca when he was ordered by God to build the *Ka'bah*.⁵

The story of Hābil and Qābil is said to have taken place in India according to one tradition.⁶

According to this legend, Arabia and India have had intercourse with each other from the very beginning of human life on the earth.

Relations of Historical Truth.

Though political relations between India and Arabia were first established as late as the seventh century after Christ, yet these two countries, entirely different from each other in race and language, had been connected through trade from so early a time as the commencement of the seventh century before Christ, or perhaps even from pre-historic times.⁷

Two of the three routes by which trade was carried in ancient times between India and the West, passed through Arabia. The first route ran from the mouth of the Indus and up the Euphrates, at the point where the road branches off to Antioch and the Levantine ports. This route attained

³ Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, *Subhat al-Marjān* (سبحة المرجان) (Bombay), 1st Section.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, first chapter.

high importance during the golden days of the Babylonian Empire, with the decay of which it fell into oblivion.

The second route, more important than the first, lay from the Indian coast to that of Yaman and Ḥadramawt and from there, passing along the Red Sea coast, to Syria and thence to Europe, either directly from the Syria coast or *via* Egypt and Alexandria. This route was of great importance and the prosperity of South-west Arabia in ancient times was largely due to it, and it formed a highway of commercial traffic until the Ptolemies established an overland route from India to Alexandria.⁸

This route, passing from Yaman to Syria through the Hijāz, has been referred to in the Qur'ān as *Imām Mubīn* (A Manifest Road).⁹ This *Imām Mubīn* has been generally taken by the commentators to be the road passing from Yaman to Syria. Another Qur'ānic verse, referring to the commercial caravans of Sabā, throws some light on the prosperity of this route. This verse (XXXIV, 18) is as follows :—

“ And We made continuous towns between them
 “ (the people of Sabā) and the towns which
 “ We had blessed—(the Syrian towns)—
 “ and We apportioned the journey therein.
 “ Travel through them nights and days.”

In this verse, the phrase *Qurū Zāhirah* has been explained by Ṭabarī to mean *Qurū Mutawāṣilah* (continuous towns), that is to say, towns lying close to one another.¹⁰ In the Qur'ān there is another reference, though indirect, to this commerce carried by the Quraysh. In verse CVI, 1, *يَافَا* *وَالصِّيفِ* *وَالشِّتَاءِ*, *حِلَّةَ أَيْلَانِهِمْ*, the summer and winter journeys

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn.), Vol. II, p. 264.

⁹ Qur'ān, XV, 79.

¹⁰ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Part 22nd, p. 58.

mean those made by the Quraysh on the highway called *Imām Mubīn*.¹¹

It is certain that Ceylon was early known to the 'Arabs on account of its pearl fisheries and trade in precious stones, and 'Arab merchants had formed commercial establishments three centuries before the rise of Islām.¹² When and how the Muslims reached the island is unknown. From Balādhuri it appears that some Muslim merchants had been there long before the attack on Sind by Muḥammad b. Qāsim. The cause of this attack has been stated by Balādhuri to have been vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debul, of vessels which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with Muslim orphans.¹³

As to the political connection of India with Arabia, it is sufficient here to point out that the first invasion of the Indian coast by the 'Arabs was at so early a date as the reign of the second Caliph (13-23/634-644.) But the 'Arab inroads did not penetrate far until 710 A.D., when Multan with the country of Sind fell before Muḥammad b. Qāsim during the reign of Walid (86-96/705-715).

Contribution of India to Arabic Literature.

After the above account of the relations between India and Arabia before the Ghaznawid period, it will be easy to make a survey of the contribution of India to Arabic literature during this period.

(1) To begin with, the legend of Adam's alighting on the mountain of Sarandip may be said to be, in a way, a contribution of India to Arabic literature. When Ceylon was for the first time visited by the Muslims, they, having heard the local traditions about the depression in the peak, might have remoulded them to suit their own faith.

¹¹ Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Part 30th, p. 197.

¹² *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, I, 838.

¹³ Balādhuri, *Buldān*, 435.

(2) The commercial intercourse between these two countries introduced many Indian words into the Arabic language. The merchandise imported from India into Arabia consisted of perfumes, spices, cloths, etc. Arabs naturally borrowed words for these articles from Indian languages. Thus, words such as *sandal*, *misk* (musk), *kāfur* (camphor), *qaranfāl* (cloves), *filfil* (pepper), *hail* (cardamom), *zanjabīl* (ginger), *ja'īfal* (nutmeg), *nārijīl* (cocoanut), *mawz* (banana), *limūn* (lemon), *tanbūl* (betel), etc., are Arabicised forms of the Indian words. In some cases the word *Hindī* was added to the words which already existed in Arabic, e.g., 'ūd *Hindī*, *qusṭ Hindī*, *tamr Hindī*, etc. The last word has become 'tamarind' in English.

Indian cloths also used to go to Yaman and thence to the Hijāz. The Arabic words *shūs* (muslin), *shit* (calico) and *fūtah* (striped cloth), come under this category.¹⁴

Arabian navigation to the Indian coast induced half a dozen words of Indian origin into Arabic travels and geographical works, e.g., the word *bārījah* (plu. *bawārij*), meaning 'pirates', is the Arabicised form of the Indian word *berā*, and the word *dawnīj* (plu. *dawānīj*), meaning 'small boat', owes its origin to the Indian word *donqī*.¹⁵

Jurji Zaydān, the well-known modern Arabic scholar of Egypt, says that the words *subḥ* (dawn), *ḍaw'* (light) and

¹⁴ (i) *Tāj-al-'Arūs*, under the word *fūtah* (فوطه).

(ii) Muhammad Sulaymān, *Ard-al-Qur'ān* (ارض القرآن), II, Chapter on 'Arabic Language.'

¹⁵ For the word *bārījah* see Al-Bīrānī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 102 and the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, ed. Paris, p. 114.

For the next word see Yāqūt al-Hamawī's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, under the word *qays*, Vol. VII, (taken from Sayyid Muhammad Sulaymān's *Arab-o-Hind ke Ta'alluqāt*, p. 63, where the remaining four words are also mentioned.)

bahā' (light), seem to be of Sanskrit origin, as these words are not found in the sister languages of Arabic.¹⁶

The word *ṭubā* that occurs in the Qur'ān is said by some Arabic scholars to be the name of a paradise, in some Indian language.¹⁷

An Indian sword was very much valued in Arabia; the 'Arabs called it *muhannad*, *Hindī* and *Iḥḍawānī*, which words frequently occur in Arabic literature. The very word *Hindī* has fascinated 'Arabs a good deal. They have used it as a lovely name for their women.

(3) Another debt which Arabic literature owes to India is the introduction of her numerals into Arabic, in which language they are still called *al-Ruqūm al-Hindiyyah*. In Arabic writing letters only were used in place of numerals up to the eighth century A.D., when this Indian system passed to the Arabians, probably along with the astronomical tables, brought to Baghdād by an Indian ambassador in 773 A.D. The system was explained in Arabic in the early parts of the ninth century by the famous scholar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and from that time it continued, though at first slowly, to be used throughout the Arabian world.¹⁸ Al-Bīrūnī acknowledges that the Muslim system of numerals is derived from the best of their (the Hindus) systems.¹⁹ It is a well-known fact that this system passed from the Arabians to the West, where these numerals were known as 'Arabic Numerals.'

(4) Another contribution of India to Arabic literature is astronomical material. Undoubtedly, the 'Arabs had their own science of astronomy, probably taken from the Chaldæans, but during the second century of the *Hijra*;

¹⁶ His *Adāb al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, Vol. I, 41.

¹⁷ *Qāmūs* and *Tāj al-'Arūs*, under the word *ṭubā* (طُبَا).

¹⁸ *Encycl. Brit.* (11th ed.), XIX, 867.

¹⁹ Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 82.

when the 'Abbāsid caliphate was at its zenith and when extraordinary efforts were made to translate foreign books into Arabic, we find much evidence of the influence of Indian culture on Arabian civilisation. Many books were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic. Of the astronomical works, the *Śindhind* was the first book to attract the attention of the 'Arabs. It was first translated by al-Fazārī (d. 154/770) and a second time by the already mentioned Muḥammad b. Mūsā of Khwārizm. Lastly, al-Bīrūnī wrote a book on the *Sindhind* with the title of *Jawāmi'u 'l-mawjūd li khawāṭiri 'l-hunūd fi ḥisābi 'l-tanjīm* (جوامع الموجود لخواطر الهند في حساب التنجيم).²⁰

(5) Another equally important contribution of India to Arabic literature is medicine.

Charaka and Susruta occupy the highest position as the medical authorities in the Sanskrit language. Their works were rendered into Arabic at the close of the eighth century A.D., and quoted as authorities by the celebrated Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 320/932).²² Ibn Nadīm gives not less than fifteen names of those Indian authors whose works had been translated into Arabic by the time of the composition of his *Fihrist*.²³ None of these renderings are known to exist except a small book of Shānāq on poisons. The Berlin Library contains a MS. of it.²⁴ The original text was, as stated in the preface of the work, first translated into Persian by Abū Ḥatīm al-Balkhī for Khālīd al-Barmakī in 200/815 and was afterwards rendered into Arabic by al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī in 210/825). Ḥājji Khalīfah has also mentioned it under the title of the *Kitāb al-Sumūm*.²⁵ The MS. is small and contains only 84 pages. It is

²⁰ Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. Notes by the Editor, p. 370.

²¹ Macdonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 434.

²² Ibid., p. 427.

²³ Ibn Nadīm, p. 271.

²⁴ Berlin Catalogue, No. 6411.

²⁵ Khalīfah, V., 96.

divided into four sections (*Maqūlāt*). The first *maqūlah* is an introduction in which the author says how doctors have invented various compounds of deadly poisons to save the sacred lives of kings. To him, the usage of these poisons is not allowed for anybody except kings. The second chapter deals with the symptoms of the effects of various poisons. The third chapter describes various methods of preparing deadly poisons. For instance, he says that a baby swallow should be devoured by a poisonous snake ; then both of them should be shut up in a copper kettle and buried under a cow-dung hill. After a certain number of days, when they are thoroughly decomposed and fermented, the mixture is to be dried up in the sun. A very small quantity of it is sure to kill any man who happens to eat it. The last chapter contains the remedies and antidotes. The author has also given a prescription of an antidote which renders any man that eats it poison-proof.

On the last page the scribe has written that at the instance of the Caliph, the device of bringing up a girl in such a way that whosoever happens to cohabit with her is sure to die at once, has been omitted on account of its being an act of barbarism. The work is of interest as showing the various methods of destroying human life in ancient times.

(6) Two story books, one the *Kalīlah wa Dimnāh* and the other the *Alf laylah wa laylah*, enjoy an unrivalled position in the domain of light literature. The former is an Indian story which was first translated from Persian into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffā in the eighth century A.D. The subject-matter of the latter was also, for the greater part, of Indian origin.²⁶ Ibn Nadīm has given several names of story books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic.²⁷

²⁶ (i) *Encycl. of Islām*, under *Alf laylah wa laylah*.

(ii) Prof. Macdonald, *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, 353.

²⁷ Ibn Nadīm, p. 305.

All such books may be regarded as a part of the contribution of India to Arabic literature.

(7) The game of chess which plays no mean part in Arabic literature is also a contribution of India. "The best authorities agree that Chess existed in India before it was known to have been played anywhere else. The word *Shatranj* is a foreign word among Persians and Arabians while its natural derivation from the Sanskrit word *Chaturanga* is obvious"²⁸ Many metaphors and similes have been taken from chess in both Arabic and Persian literatures.

(8) *Al-Birūnī's *Kitāb al-Hind* and other similar works may be included in the list of the contributions of India to Arabic literature, not because the author is regarded by some Arabic writers of repute as a resident of Sind, but because the whole subject-matter of the works has been taken from India. The name of the author is so associated with India that we can hardly think of Arabic literature produced in that country without thinking of him. Whatever reputation he enjoys as a great scholar of astronomy and mathematics is due largely to the benefits he derived from the writings and works of Indian scholars. Apart from the patronage that he received from the first Sultān of Muslim India and his son, and apart from the facilities given to him by the Ghaznawids, it is impossible to ignore his great obligation to Indian scholars and teachers, at least as far as his knowledge of Indian sciences is concerned.

(9) Abū Ḥafṣ Rabi' b. Ṣubayḥ was what is called in the language of Islamic learning *Ṭaba' Ṭābi'in* (i.e., one of the

²⁸ *Encycl. Brit.*, under "Chess".

* It may be somewhat anachronistic to make mention of al-Birūnī's contribution to Arabic literature under the pre-Ghaznawid period; but as he is generally not included among the authors of India, a reference of a general type to him and his works could have been made in the present chapter only.

companions of the companions of the Prophet's companions.) He is, according to an authority, said to be the first Muslim to write a book.²⁹ He was a reliable transmitter of *Ḥadīth*. He migrated in his later days to Sind where he died in 160/776.³⁰ He is mentioned by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Rahmān 'Alī and Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan as the first Muslim scholar who lived in India.³¹

Sind was, during the first three centuries of the *Hijra*, an 'Arab colony where people of more than one tribe settled. These domiciled 'Arabs must have maintained Arabic as their mother tongue for a long time, and there must have sprung up many a poet among them. But it is a matter of great regret that no accounts whatever of such intellectual activities of Sindian 'Arabs and of those natives who must have learnt the language of their rulers, have come down to us. The *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and other similar books do not throw any light upon this matter. But it may be conjectured that some migrating 'Arabs must have written some books in Arabic. Hājji Khalīfah mentions the *Ta'rīkh-i-Sind* among the histories written by the Muslims, but does not give the name of its author.³² Perhaps it was written by some Sindī 'Arab. The author of the *Chāch Nāmah* says that he has taken the material for his book from an Arabic history written by the ancestor of the man who asked him to render it into Persian. Perhaps this Arabic history of Sind is the same as that to which Khalīfah refers. In the absence of any positive evidence and authority it is impossible to say anything definite.

Just as some 'Arabs settled in Sind, similarly many Sindians were domiciled in Arabia, either as slaves or free

²⁹ Khalīfah, I, 80.

³⁰ Azād, *Subḥah* (سبحه), p, 26.

³¹ Ibid., 26 ; Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirah* (تذکرہ), 3 ; Siddīq Ḥasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, 889.

³² Khalīfah, I, 133.

men. Of them also very little is known. Sam'ānī gives only two names under the *Nisbah* 'Sindī': one is Abū Ma'shar and the other is the poet Abū 'Aṭā' Aflah Sindī.³³ The former was a *Muḥaddith* (traditionist) and was regarded as an authority on the history of the Prophet. The high position that he held as a scholar may be judged from this fact that when he died, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd accompanied his funeral procession, and led the prayers himself. Abū 'Aṭā' Aflah will be spoken of at some length later on in connection with the contribution of India to Arabic poetry.

Sam'ānī also gives several names under the *Nisbah* *Manṣūrī* (of Manṣūrah, Bhakkar), *Daybulī* (of Daybul, Thath), *Lāhūrī* and *Hindī*.³⁴ All these men are said by Sam'ānī to be scholars and traditionists who transmitted *Ḥadīth* to others.

When Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Maqdisī visited India during the latter part of the tenth century, he also found many traditionists in Sind. He specially makes mention of a certain Abū Muḥammad Manṣūrī who was a *Muḥaddith* and an author of several books.³⁵

Now all these *Ḥadīth* that the above mentioned Indians and those who settled in India transmitted to others, and their works on *Ḥadīth* may be taken as the first contribution of India to Arabic literature as far as the science of *Ḥadīth* is concerned.

³³ Sam'ānī, *Kitāb-al-Ansāb*, p. 313-b.

N.-B.—Jurji Zaydān has given the name of another Sindī poet Kushājīm. He definitely says that he was an Indian by origin (*Vide his History of Arabic Literature*, Vol. II, 251). But this statement of his seems to be wrong, on the authority of Sam'ānī, who says that 'Sindī' is both an adjective (*al-ism al-mansūb*) and a name and gives the names of Kushājīm and Rajā al-Hindī, the traditionist, as examples of the latter case, (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 314-a.)

³⁴ Ibid., 543, 236-b, 497 and 592.

³⁵ Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqaṣīm* (احسن التقاسيم), 479.

Abū 'Aṭā' Aflah Sindī, mentioned above along with Kushājim, the traditionist, was a *Mawla* (client) of Banū Asad and was a good poet, which may be judged from this fact that Abū Tammām Ḥabīb thought fit to quote three lines of his in the beginning of the first chapter of his *Hamāsah*.

The author of *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was devoted no less than five pages to him.³⁶ He was one of those poets who sang in the praise of the Umayyads. He flourished during the latter part of the Umayyad period and outlived his patrons to see the time of the first two 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. He died in the reign of Maṣṣūr. He tried to sing equally enthusiastically in the praise of his new masters, but they would not accept any poem from him after his having lavishly praised their past enemies. Aflah was his name and Abū 'Aṭā' his *kunyah*. There was something wrong with his tongue. He could not pronounce such letters as *Sh* (ش), *J* (ج), etc. His poems were admired, but as his tongue was defective he could not recite them well. Once a certain Sulaymān was so pleased with him that he gave him a good-looking boy named 'Aṭā' to recite his poems for him. This boy proved of great help to him, and the poet was so satisfied with his services that he adopted him as a son and took his *kunyah* from him. People used to enjoy the defect of his tongue, but he was very sensitive about it, and did not allow them to ask him to pronounce any particular word. The story of the device of Ḥammād, the famous narrator, by which he could succeed in making him pronounce some particular words, need not be mentioned here.

The poems of Abū 'Aṭā' Aflah Sindī may be taken as the contribution of India to Arabic poetry during the pre-Ghaznawid period.

³⁶ *Aghānī*, XVI, 81-87.

CHAPTER II

COMMENTARIES ON THE QUR'ĀN

Commentaries on the Qur'ān occupy the first and most important place in Islamic literature, and a large number of Muslim scholars have always regarded it as their pious duty to write exegesis on their holy scriptures. The commentators may be arranged chronologically in the following way :—

- I. The Prophet, those Companions of his and those followers of theirs who verbally commented on Qur'ānic verses, but did not commit their comments to writing.
- II. Those earliest commentators who for the first time actually wrote something by way of commentary on the Qur'ān, transmitting the verbal comments of the Prophet and of his Companions.
- III. The commentators of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Muslim era, among whom the celebrated Tabari stands unrivalled and unsurpassed. Their commentaries, just like the books on *Ḥadīth*, are full of the traditions and sayings, with the complete chain of the narrators.
- IV. The commentators of the later period, who have omitted the chain of the narrators, except the final authority, whom they always mention without fail.
- V. In the sixth century every commentator wrote his commentary from the particular standpoint in which he specialised. A grammarian, for example, wrote his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer or a Sūfi

took another view. Hence various sorts of commentaries were composed during this period. Among these commentators the great Zamk̤hsharī occupies a high place. His commentary, entitled *al-Kashshāf*, is a scholarly work, composed from a grammatical and rhetorical standpoint, and is the foundation of the later commentaries as far as this aspect is concerned. Many super-commentaries have been written on this work.

- VI. The commentators of subsequent centuries, who largely based their commentaries on the previous works of the same nature. Among these commentaries, two works, one known as *Tafsīr-i-Bayḍawī* and the other as *Jaḷālayn*, stand very high. The latter owes its fame to its marvellous brevity and conciseness, while the former is a good comprehensive commentary. The importance and value of this commentary may be judged from the fact that so many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on it by scholars of the succeeding ages that no other Qur'ānic commentary enjoys such a celebrity. We shall see later on that several Indian scholars have composed super-commentaries and glosses on it.

The commentaries produced in India belong to the sixth class. Of many Indian works on the Qur'ānic sciences, fifteen deserve notice :—

I.	Commentaries of a general nature ...	3
II.	Commentaries written from various standpoints...	4
III.	The principles of Qur'ānic exegesis ..	1
IV.	Commentaries purely literary and pedantic ...	2
V.	Glosses and Annotations on previous works ...	3
VI.	Concordances and Indexes ...	2
TOTAL		15

I. Commentaries of a General Nature : Three.

1. *Tabṣīr al-Rahmān wa Taysīr al-Mannān* (تبصير الرحمن وتيسير المَنَّان), better known as *Tafsīr-i-Rahmānī*, by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ḥ. Aḥmad Mahā'imi (d. 835/1431). He belonged to the tribe called Nawā'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madinah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the city. 'Alī was an eminent scholar and the author of several works. He belonged to the Shāfi'ī school. This work has been published in two volumes at Ḥaydarābād.*

This commentary is in the nature of what is called *al-Sharḥ al-Mamzūj*, just like the *Jalālayn*, but more comprehensive and of wider scope. It describes briefly all the Qur'ānic stories and the occasion of the revelation of the verses. It also points out the mutual connections of the preceding and following verses.

There are two characteristics which the author has very ably maintained throughout: one is that in the beginning of each *sūrah* he briefly mentions the reason why the *sūrah* is so named; and the other is that he invariably paraphrases *Bismi 'llāh* in each *sūrah* in accordance with the subject-matter of the *sūrah*. For instance, *Bismi 'llāh* in the last *sūrah* is paraphrased in the following ways:—

بسم الله المتجلى باسمائه وصفاته وأفعاله فى الناس

(I begin in the name of God who is manifest through His names, attributes and actions in regard to man.)

الرحمن بكميله بعد إضائه نور الوجود عليه

• (Who is so merciful as to make him perfect after shedding the light of existence upon him.)

* In the Berlin Library Catalogue, two MSS., Nos. 925 and 931, are described as being composed by a certain Fādil-i-Hindī, while MS. No. 870 is said to be the commentary by 'Alī under consideration. I have found out that all these MSS. are different parts of the same work, *Tafsīr-i-Rahmānī*.

الرحيم بحفظه من شر مانيه و شر ما خرج عنه

(And Who is so compassionate as to protect him from the evil of what is in him and of what has gone out from him.)

The paraphrase of *Bismi 'llāh* in the last *sūrah* but one runs as follows :—

بسم الله المتجلي بكمالاته فى النور الفائق

(In the name of God Who is manifest through His perfections in the day-breaking light.)

الرحمن بشاعة ذالك النور

(Who is so merciful as to diffuse that light.)

الرحيم باعاده من عاذبه من الشرور

(And Who is so compassionate as to give refuge to him who seeks refuge in Him from the evils.)

The word *Allāh* in *Bismi 'llāh* is almost invariably followed by *al-Mutajalli bi-Kamālātihī*, which phrase is in turn followed by another, suitable for the subject-matter of the *sūrah*. The words *al-Rahmān* and *al-Rahīm* are each followed by a phrase consisting of the *Ḥarf Jār Bū* and its *Majrūr*. No other commentary has, so far as known to the present writer, followed this peculiar way of paraphrasing *Bismi 'llāh*.

2. * *Al-Taḥsīn al-Muḥammadi* (التفسير المحمدي), composed by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ahmad Miyānji b. Naṣir of Gujarāt. He was both a Ṣūfī and a scholar. He is said to have written glosses on the *Taḥsīn-i-Bayḍawī*. He died in 982/1547. His object in writing this commentary was

* I think this work is identical with an Arabic *tafsīr* entitled *Kāshifu 'l-Haqā'iq wa Qāmūsu 'd-Daqā'iq* (كشف الحقائق و قاموس الدقائق) by Muḥammad b. Ahmad Thāneswarī Gujarātī, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Arabic books and MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf 'Alī (See A-a-20.)

to point out the mutual connections of the Qur'anic verses—which he asserts that no scholar had done before him. This commentary is not so comprehensive and valuable as the *Tafsīr-i-Raḥmānī*, which he seems to have consulted when he wrote his own.

3. *Tafsīr-i-Maḥarī* (تفسير مطهرى), composed by Qaḍī Thana' Allāh Panipatī (1225/1810) and named after Mirza Janjānān, the spiritual leader of the author. The Qāḍī was a scholar of repute. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Dīblawī (1239/1823) used to call him the Bayhaqī of India. His *Mālā budd* (a book in Persian on the *Hanafī Fiqh*) is well known in India. This commentary consists of seven volumes and is considered to be reliable, representing the orthodox view of the *Hanafī* school. Some parts of it have been lithographed in India.

II. Commentaries written from various points of view : Four.

1. *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalāt* (شؤون المنزلات) by 'Alī Muttaqī of Burhānpur (975/1568), a very learned man who during the latter part of his life left for Mecca and settled down there. He is the author of several books, the best known and most useful being the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*. In this commentary the author has mentioned all the reliable and accepted occasions of the revelation of the Qur'anic verses, together with grammatical, philological and rhetorical explanations of certain words and phrases, ascribed to some authorities on the subjects concerned. It does not deal with the text verse by verse, but with those verses only about which there are some reliable explanations and causes of revelation.

2. *Tarjamat al-Kitāb* (ترجمة الكتاب) by Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābadī (1058/1648). He was a descendant of the great Indian Ṣūfī Farīd Shākarganj whose lineage goes back to 'Umar, the second Caliph. He was both a

scholar and a Sufi. He expounded the ideas of Ibn 'Arabi so much so that in India he won the title of 'the Ibn 'Arabi of India.' He was a prolific writer and has left several works. He wrote this commentary on the Qur'ān which is also called *al-Marātib al-Arba'ah*. On this commentary he himself composed glosses also under the title of the *Hāshiyat Tarjamati 'l-Qur'ān* (حاشية ترجمة القرآن).

He wrote this commentary entirely from a Sufistic standpoint, and chiefly from that of *Wahdatu 'l-wujūd*. Many points in his commentary are found to be deviating from orthodoxy. For instance, he has, like some other thinkers, inferred from the verses, X 90 and 91 that Fir'awn embraced the faith of the Bann Isrā'il at the time of his being drowned.

3. *Al-Tāfsīrāt al-Aḥmadiyyah fī Bayān al-Ayāt al-Shar'īyyah* (التفسيرات الاحمدية في بيان آيات الشريعة), commonly known as *Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadi*, by Aḥmad b. Abu Sa'īd, better known as Mullā Jiwān (d. 1130/1717). That he was a learned scholar may be seen from the fact that he was one of the teachers of Awrangzib who had a high regard for his erudite learning. His other work is *Nūr al-Anwār*, a commentary on *al-Manār* which is a well known text book on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*.

The work under consideration is not a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān. It deals only with those verses from which commandments and prohibitions are inferred. He states in the preface that nobody had so far attempted to collect and comment upon those verses from which *Aḥkām* are deduced. In his boyhood he used to hear that al-Ghazālī had collected five hundred verses of this sort, but when he tried to obtain this work he came to know that what he had heard was wrong. Thereupon he resolved to

do this work himself, and as he himself says, commenced it when he was a boy of sixteen years, completed it when he was twenty-one years old, and revised it six years later.

In the beginning he has given a list of all those *sūrahs* from which *Aḥkām* are derived, together with a list of the natures of these injunctions. Those *sūrahs* which contain no *Āyāt al-Aḥkām* are enumerated as being devoid of them (خالية عن الأحكام). The first verse that he begins with is the twenty-seventh of the second *sūrah* which runs :

هو الذى خلق لكم ما فى الارض جميعاً

(It is He Who has created for you all that is on the earth.) From this verse he infers ان الاباحة اصل فى الاشياء, i.e., lawfulness is a root principle in everything. In the last *Juz'* all the *sūrahs* from LXXXVII to the last are devoid of *Āyāt al-Aḥkām*, except *sūrah* No. 108, from which he proves the existence of the heavenly *Hawāḥ Kauthar*.

4. *Fath al-Khabīr bi-mā lā budd min ḥifẓihī fī 'ilm al-Taḥsīr* (فتح الخبير بما لا بد من حفظه في التفسير) by *Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī*, who was the most celebrated traditionist and theologian of his age in India. He was born in 1114/1702, and at the age of fifteen, when he had completed his education on traditional lines, entered the *Naqshbandī* order under the leadership of his father, and two years later succeeded him in his office. In 1143/1730, he went to Mecca and then to Madinah where he made the acquaintance of the scholars and traditionists of those places and received a *sanad* and a *khiṭṭah* from the eminent *Sūfī* and *Muḥaddith* Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm at Madinah. On his return to Delhi he devoted himself to literary and educational pursuits, and wrote a large number of works, dealing with *Hadīth* and other branches of Muslim theology. His reputation as a scholar is in no way confined to India. In the history of

Islamic learning in India he stands unrivalled. His greatness lies in his being a scholar well versed in all branches of Islamic literature. He was a Ṣūfī too. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasān is right when he says that if Walī Allāh had lived in an early period, he would have been regarded as an *Imām* of his age. Being asked which of the four schools of *Sunnī Fiqh* he belonged to, he said :—"I try my best, to combine all the points of agreement in all the schools and in matters of variance I adhere to what is proved by the genuine *Ḥadīth*—which, thank God, I can do. If anybody asks me for a *fatwā*, I give it according to whatever school he wishes." He died in 1176/1762.

In the book under consideration he has collected all those *Ḥadīth* which offer some comments on verses of the Qur'an. In the *Itqān* of Suyūṭī there is one chapter which contains only those *Ḥadīth* of this sort that have come down from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās through the narration of Ibn 'Alī Talḥah and Ḍaḥḥāk. The *Fath al-Khabīr* includes all those *Ḥadīth* concerned which are regarded as reliable by the authorities. This book is a fifth chapter of another work by the same author, entitled *al-Fawzu 'l-Kabīr fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, which deals with the principles of the Qur'ānic commentary and will be discussed later on. The following is a specimen of the traditional commentary which the *Fath al-Khabīr* contains :—

(*Sūrah* 108) انا اعطيناك الكوثر - قال الرسول هو نور - شانك عدوك
(*Sūrah* 112) قال المشركون صف لنا ربك فانزل الله قل هو الله احد

This commentary does not give the chain of narration, while the *Itqān* gives it invariably.

III. Literary and Pedantic Commentaries : Two.

1. *Sawāṭī' al-Ilhām* (سواطع الالهام) by Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī (1004/1595), the poet-laureate of the court of Akbar. He was a Persian poet of repute and a scholar well versed

in many branches of learning. The mastery that he had over Arabic literature is evidenced from two of his Arabic works, one is the *Mawārid al-Kilam wa Silk Duraru'l-Hikam* and the other this work under consideration, in both of which the author has very skilfully maintained throughout the figure of speech called *San'at-i-Muhmalah*.

It commences with a sort of introduction entitled *Sawāṭi'*, divided into two parts, the first dealing with a short account of the author himself, and the other throwing some light on the Qur'ānic sciences, etc. Each part is subdivided into what is named *Sāṭi'*. All these 'flashes' are of different lengths, varying from one line to thirty lines or so.

The account of the author describes the place of his birth and how he entered the royal service of the king to whose eulogy he devotes two 'flashes'. He has written the longest 'flash' in the praise of his father. At the end of his introduction he has appended a poem in appreciation of his own work.

He has mentioned the names of his father and his brothers in an enigmatical way in order to avoid the dotted letters which they contain. These riddles are very difficult and far-fetched. A man who does not already know those names, can hardly solve them. Even with previous knowledge of the names, it is very difficult to work them out.

Out of nine riddles, six are *mu'ammās* and the remaining three are *lughazes*. The difference between the two terms is that for the former only one answer is correct, while in the case of the latter more than one solution is possible. The author has used the latter device for three names, Abu'l-Faḍl, Abu Fayḍ Fayḍi (i.e., himself) and Abu 'l-Khayr and has described the significance of these names in words containing undotted letters. The descriptions are not limited in their reference and can be applied to other words of similar meaning also. But this is not

the case with the remaining six, for they can only apply to the names concerned and cannot admit of more than one correct answer. I have been able to solve these six *mu'ammās*, which are given below with the solutions of them.

(1) The name *Mubārak* contains five letters - م - ب - ا - ر - ك which are obtained respectively by اساس العلم (the base, i.e., the last letter of 'ilm), اصل الروع (the root, i.e., the last letter of *qalb* which is a synonym of *raw'*), مطلع الالهام (the rising place, i.e., the first letter of *ilhām*), راس الرأس (the head, i.e., the first letter of *ru'ūs*) and امام الكرام (the leader, i.e., the first letter of *kirām*).

(2) For Abū Barakāt he says :

والد عاد اصله اصل الروع مزوم دور الاكر و مكر امدادهر

The word *wālid* is given as a synonym of *Abū*. Next comes the word *Barakāt*. The letter ب is got from اصل الروع just as in the previous *mu'ammā*; ك is obtained by the phrase مزوم دور الاكر (that is, the word اكر is to be reversed) and the last letter ت is obtained from مكر امدادهر (that is, by doubling the value of the last letter of دهر, which is حرف الراء the numerical value of which is 200, and that of التاء, 400).

(3) The *mu'ammā* for Abū 'l-Makārim is not difficult. وهو مدلول الواد و المكارم, that is to say, it is a synonym of *wālid* followed by *al-makūrim*.

(4) The letters of the name, Abū Turāb, are obtained from the first letters of *al-amal*, *al-raw'* (i.e., *al-bāl*), *al-walū'*, *al-rūh*, *al-mukarrar*, *al-raw'*, *al-awwal* and *al-marḥ* (i.e., *al-baṭar*). Here the dotted letter ب is obtained by the first letter of *al-bāl* which is a synonym of *al-raw'* and also by the first letter of *al-baṭar* which is a synonym of *al-marḥ*; and the dotted ت is got by doubling the value of the first letter of *al-rūh*.

(5) The letters of the name, Abū Ḥamid, are obtained by the middle letters of *al-ḥāl*, *al-ṭawd* (i.e., *al-jabal*), *al-ṭawl*, *al-ṣaḥw*, *al-raw'* (i.e., *al-bāl*), *al-samuw* and *al-ḥads*.

(6) The letters of the name, Abū Rāshid, are obtained by the last letters of *al-ṭā'*, *al-raw'* (i.e., *al-qalb*), *al-hudū*, *al-amr*, *al-rawā'*, *al-ṭams*, *al-marsūm* and *amad al-dahr*.

.. In the construction of these *mu'ammās* the following points are noticeable :

(1) The letters of the names are expressed by saying that they are the first, middle, or last letters of some particular word. In the case of undotted letters, there is no difficulty, because they occur in the new word presented ; but in the case of dotted letters, the author either gives a synonym of the word from which a particular letter has to be taken, for instance, *Aṣl al-raw'* is equal to *Aṣl al-qalb*, or hints at the numerical value of a letter ; for example, حرف الراء is obtained by doubling the value of حرف الراء.

(2) The author, in expressing the names of his relatives in this novel manner, has selected words that signify some excellence or virtue ; and the indication of the first, middle or last letters of words is given in various ways which themselves point to laudable characteristics.

(3) The names of Abū Turāb, Abū Hāmid and Abū Rāshid, the step-brothers of the author, are arranged in order according to their age, for it should be noted that the name of the first is to be taken from the first letters of the given words ; that of the middle, from the middle letters, and that of the last, from the last letters.

Fayḍi was commonly considered to be a heretic as regards his religious faith, but curiously enough he has never said anything against the orthodox view in the introduction or in the commentary itself. If we, for instance, take the following four points on which a heretic or freethinker may differ from the orthodox :—

- I. The Qur'ān is the last book of revelation and Muḥammad the last Prophet ;
- II. Miracles and supernatural things such as the birth of Christ without a father, the story of

‘The People of the Cave’, and that of
 ‘The People of the Elephant’, etc.;

III. God leads to the straight path whomsoever
 He likes, and lets go astray whomsoever He
 likes, etc.;

IV. The only true religion is Islām ;
 we find that he interprets all these points entirely from
 the orthodox standpoint.

This commentary, apart from the literary skill, has no
 value, as the self-imposed restriction has made the brief
 comments that he offers more difficult than the text itself.
 His chief point is to avoid the dotted letters while com-
 menting on the Qur’ān and so he is unnecessarily lengthy
 wherever ideas could have been expressed concisely, other-
 wise he is brief to obscurity. It may be compared in brevity
 with the well-known *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* which has no
 such alphabetical restrictions and so offers its brief com-
 ments in the easiest possible words, while *Sawāṭi’ al-Ilhām*
 has to use bombastic and unusual words.

The learned Indian critic, Shibli, whom the late Pro-
 fessor Browne has quoted in his history of Persian Litera-
 ture, remarks that this commentary shows only the
 wonderful mastery that the author had over Arabic
 literature, otherwise it is worth nothing.¹ Mawlawī ‘Abd
 al-Ḥaqq, whose introduction to his Urdu commentary on
 the Qur’ān has been translated into English, is of the same
 opinion.²

As regards Arabic and Persian literature, it should be
 noted that the characteristics of an Indian mind are apt to
 express themselves in an artificial, flowery, bombastic and
 ornate style. To take Persian first, we find that Amīr

¹ Shibli, *Shi’ru ’l-‘Ajam* (ed. °A’zamgarh), III, 67.

² ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Haqqānī’s *Introduction to his Commentary
 on the Qur’ān* (English Translation), p. 576.

Khusraw, the greatest poet of India, wrote in a very artificial style, as exemplified by his *Mathnawī*, the *Qirān al-Sa'dayn*, and his prose work, the *I'jās-i-Khusrawī*. Among the poets of the later period, Mullā Zuhūrī, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Bidil, etc., are notorious for the same failing. The great poet of Persia, 'Urfi, who lived in India during the latter part of his life, could not avoid this influence. The same is the case with Ṣā'ib. Both of them are much admired in India and Turkey, but are disliked in their own country. Their fellow-countrymen say that they were poetical geniuses but that their poetry was spoiled by their stay in India.³

Arabic could not enjoy the same amount of popularity in India as Persian did. Yet Arabic could not remain unaffected by this tendency of the Indian mind. Among all the rhetorical devices, the figure of speech called *San'at-i-Muhmalah*, has fascinated the Indian Muslims very much on account of its very difficult nature. We find that even in Arabic some attempts have been made in this direction. One of them is this *Sawā'ifi' al-Ilhām*. Another is *mawā'irid al-kilām* by the same author. Then there is another commentary on the *sūrah Yūsuf*. Muḥammad Ṣiddiq of Lahore is said to have written a biography of the Prophet with the same restriction.

By writing the *Sawā'ifi'*, Fayḍi has contributed to Arabic literature a work entirely artificial in its nature according to the characteristic of an Indian mind. I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout.

2. *Jubb-Shaghab* (جب شغب), also named *Fayḍ Ghayb* (فیض غیب). The author is 'Abd al-Aḥad b. Imām 'Alī of

³ Muhammad Husayn Azād, *Sukhandān-i-Fārs*, Chapter on "Characteristics of Indian Persian."

Allahābād who is a very modern writer. This work is mentioned here to show further the peculiarity of an Indian taste.

The *Jubb-Shaghab* is a cemmentary on the last *juz'* of the Qur'ān. In this commentary the author has avoided undotted letters, that is to say, he has maintained the figure of speech called *San'at-i-Manqūṭah* which is just the opposite of the rhetoric contrivance maintained by Fayḍī in his *Sawāṭi'*.

The following passage relating to the first *sūrah* will show its style :

الحمد لله (يثني عليه)

All praise is due to God (Who is praised by way of being praised),

رب العالمين (يغذي غذية)

The Lord of all the worlds (Who gives nourishment),

الرحمن الرحيم (ينضى نهض جيب)

Merciful and compassionate (Who sends abundant favours),

مالك يوم الدين (يغيب شقى يزقن تقى)

The master of the day of judgment (when the sinful are punished and the pious rewarded).

اياك نعبد (نبتني نبتى)

Thee we worship (Keep my motive firm),

و اياك نستعين (تغينني)

And of Thee we beg help (Thou redressest me).

اهدنا الصراط المستقيم (في غى بغى نجنى)

Lead us to the straight path (in the misguidance of sin. Give me salvation),

صراط الذين انعمت عليهم (بشئت بشيشة)

The path of those whom Thou hast rewarded (with whom Thou has been pleased),

غير المغضوب عليهم (غضبت غضبة)

Not of those with whom Thou art angry (upon whom Thou hast thrown Thy wrath),

والضالين (نفى بني - خذني بتخضع غض)

Nor of those who go astray (*i.e.*, the exclusion of the sinful. Take me in fresh comfort).

As this style is entirely artificial and as it is very difficult to express ideas in words having no undotted letters, the explanation it offers is much more meagre and obscure than that offered by the *Sawāṭi*. The object of the author is not to write a commentary but to make a display of his knowledge of the Arabic language, which he has, to his credit, done and perhaps successfully. To maintain *San'at-i-Manqūṭah* is much more difficult than to maintain the opposite *San'at*, and hence this commentary is a greater credit to the author of the *Jubb-Shaghab* than the *Sawāṭi* is to Fayḍi. The latter is a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān while the former relates to the last *juz'*, only, but this fact does not throw any slur on the abilities of the author, as he has not made any selection of *sūrah*s to suit his purpose. If he had done so, it would have been concluded that he could not have maintained the style throughout. Perhaps he could not find time, or he perhaps soon realised the folly of wasting his intellectual activities. At the end he has given a poem of thirty couplets, maintaining therein the same restriction, which fact throws sufficient light on the command that he had over Arabic literature. The *Jubb-Shaghab* is a chronogrammatical name which gives the year 1307 A.H. as the date of its composition.

The very title is a difficult phrase. Its meanings can hardly be understood without reference to dictionaries. *Jubb* means a 'well'. But what is the meaning of the other word *Shaghab*? This word has several meanings, one of them being 'deviating from the way'. So the

whole phrase means 'A well out of the way'. As this 'well', *i.e.*, the Commentary, is 'out of the way', *i.e.*, not in the usual style, it is named *Jubb-Shaghhab*.

IV. *On the Principles of Qur'ānic Exegesis : One Book.*

This work is *al-Fawz al-Kabīr* (الفوز الكبير) by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, whom we have mentioned above. It was originally composed in Persian but was later on translated into Arabic by a certain resident of Madras. The name of the translator is not known. It is divided into five chapters, the last of which is a separate book with the title of *Fath al-Khabīr*, which has already been discussed. The value of this book lies in its masterly exposition of the principles of Qur'ānic exegesis.

The author divides the subject-matter of the Qur'ān into five, to wit :—

1. *Al-Ahkām* (Commands) ;
2. *Mukhāsamah* (Contentions) ;
3. *Al-Tadhkīr bi-Ahkām Allāh* (Admonitions with reference to divine blessings and gifts) ;
4. *Al-Tadhkīr bi-Ayyām Allāh* (Admonitions with reference to the days of God, *i.e.*, past events) ;
5. *Al-Tadhkīr bi'l-Mawt wa ba'd al-Mawt* (Admonitions with reference to death and the life to come).

The Qur'ān contends with four classes of people, namely, polytheists, hypocrites, Jews and Christians. After classing the subject-matter of the Qur'ān and the people with whom it contends, the first principle that the author lays down for the guidance of a commentator is that he should not lose sight of this fact that the Qur'ān, in dealing with all the matters mentioned above, strictly follows the style of the speech of the ancient 'Arabs and not of the later writers, who were experts in writing systematised and well-arranged text books.

The next point that he tries to bring home to his reader is the realisation that the object of the Qur'ānic passages containing *al-Tadhkīr bi-Aḥkām Allāh*, etc., is to purify human beings and not to give them philosophical or historical lectures. The Qur'ān has mentioned only those facts which are self-evident and those stories which are well known.

Generally commentators are inclined to believe that there is some occasion or other of the revelation of all the Qur'ānic verses, and they try to explain the verses in the light of the stories which caused their revelation. Walī Allāh is opposed to this general belief. He says that since the object of the revelation of the Qur'ān is to purify and elevate humanity and to correct wrong beliefs and evil doings, the very existence of the former (wrong belief) is the cause of the revelation of the contending verses and that of the latter (evil doings) is the cause of the revelation of the verses containing commands and prohibitions.

In the second chapter he says that the Qur'ān was revealed in plain and simple Arabic, easily and thoroughly understood by those 'Arabs who heard or read it. Since thinking over the *Āyāt Mutashābihāt* was discouraged by the Prophet, they did not ask him for the philosophical explanation of those verses. When non-'Arabs embraced Islām, difficulties of the following kinds arose:—

1. Obscurity of certain words ;
2. Want of knowledge as regards the cancelling and cancelled verses ;
3. Want of knowledge as regards the cause of the revelation of some verses ;
4. Grammatical and rhetorical difficulties.

As regards the obscure words occurring in the Qur'ān, he says that the meanings of such words have come down to us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās

through many transmitters, which meanings he has collected in a separate book entitled *Fath al-Khabīr*, which may be taken as a fifth chapter to the present work of his.

As to the cancelled verses, he points out that the early writers used the word *Naskh* in a very broad sense, with the result that the number of such verses was to them not less than five hundred. Suyūṭī, on the authority of Ibn al-ʿArabī, has reduced the number to twenty, which Shāh Wali Allāh brings down further to five only.

As regards the occasions of the revelation of the verses, he asserts that there is again a variance of interpretation concerning the term *Sabab al-Nuzūl*. Every event to which a certain verse might be applicable and which occurred in the time of the Prophet, has been rather carelessly mentioned as the occasion of the revelation of that verse. *Nazalat al-āyah fi hādihā*, the common expression of the early writers, says he, does not therefore necessarily mean that that event was the cause of the revelation of the verse.

As to the grammatical and rhetorical difficulties, he has given a long list explaining therein all such difficulties.

In the third chapter he has explained the peculiarities of the Qurʾānic style. His main point is that the text is not systematically arranged like a regular book. He compares the *sūrah*s to the orders and mandates which a ruler issues to his subjects from time to time, as required by the situation. He has skilfully worked out this comparison in some details which is almost a new idea.

In the fourth chapter he gives a general criticism of all the existing Qurʾānic commentaries. His main point is that different commentators have taken a fancy to write commentaries from the different standpoints of their own interests. A grammarian, for example, has written his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer has based his work on scholastic arguments. This tendency, he says, has done great harm to the

understanding of the real spirit of the Qur'ān, just as the 'Ilm al-Tajwīd (the science of recitation) has diverted the attention of the readers of the Qur'ān from thinking over the actual significance of the verses towards the way in which it should be properly recited.

*V. Glosses and Annotations on the Previous Commentaries :
Three Books.*

1. The importance of the *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* has already been referred to. The most widely read of all the glosses, written by Indians on this commentary, are those composed by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656), who was an accomplished and eminent scholar attached to the court of Shāh-jahān. His reputation as a learned commentator and writer of glosses spread during his life-time so far as to reach Ḥājji Khalifah, living at so distant a place as Constantinople, who has mentioned some of his works in his bibliography.¹ They were contemporaries of one another. As the most important part of the *Bayḍāwī* is that relating to the first two *sūrahs*, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm has written his glosses on this portion only, but did not finish the work. It runs up to the three-quarters of the second *juṣ'*. His glosses are very illuminating. The author of the *Khulāṣat al-Āthār* speaks of him and his works very highly. Of his *Hāshiyah* on the *Bayḍāwī*, he says *ايتها وطاعت فيها ابحاث دقة*.²

The following are some of the characteristics of his *Hāshiyah*:

1. He offers philological and grammatical explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in the *Bayḍāwī*;
2. He explains obscure passages ;

¹ Khalifah, IV, 925; VI, 241; and VII, 914.

² Muhibbī (محبی), II, 318.

Sa'id who dedicated it to Awrangzib. It is an index, not to the beginnings and endings of the verses but to each and every word in the Qur'ān. This index is almost as modern in its design and arrangement as another work of the same nature, and also of the same name, by Flügel.

Both the Nujūms Compared :

Flügel has first arranged the words according to their roots, and then under one root has given all its various forms. Muṣṭafā has simply followed the natural arrangement of the words according to the letters they contain, irrespective of root or anything of that sort, and so Muṣṭafā's index is much more convenient in this respect than Flügel's, in which one cannot find the required word unless one knows the root of it. For philological purposes, Flügel's index is much more helpful than the other one. If both the arrangements are joined, there will be nothing to be desired or improved.

The other point of contrast is that Flügel has adopted the numbers of *sūrahs* and verses, whilst Muṣṭafā refers to *juz'* and *rukū'* instead, the former being indicated in numerals and the latter being shown in *Ḥurūf Abjad*, which system is very defective and inconvenient. In short, Muṣṭafā's *Nujūm* was the best Qur'ānic index up to the time when Flügel composed his work, which, as fairness demands, should not be compared with the previous work, in view of the wonderful facilities of modern times.

CHAPTER III

HADITH LITERATURE IN INDIA

By the fifth century of the *Hijra*, the great collections of *Hadith* literature dealing with the sayings and doings of the Prophet and of his Companions, had been completed. But on the basis of this material there was built up a separate department of study, with numerous branches—the Science of *Hadith*—and this has attracted the attention of the Muslim scholars of succeeding generations up to modern times, and the vast literature on *Hadith* now forms a very important and considerable part of Islamic learning. What we are concerned with here is the contribution of India to this branch of Arabic literature. Considering her special disadvantages and geographical obstacles, it may be said that she has acquitted herself well.

One great disadvantage that India has had with regard to the collection of *Hadith* is that, being very distant from the country where the Prophet was born, lived, and died, there were no Indians among the narrators and guarantors of *Hadith* up to the time when the traditions were collected in various works. It was in Arabia, Persia and Khurāsān that all the canonical and other works on *Hadith* were compiled. Only two or three out of thousands of these narrators were directly or indirectly connected with India. One is Abū Ḥaṣṣ b. Rabi' who was a *Taba' Tabi'in* and a reliable narrator. He went to Sind and died there in 160/776. According to one authority, he is said to have been the first Muslim who wrote a book. This work does not exist and the nature of it is not known. Possibly it was on *Hadith*. Another is Abū Ma'shar, who was the

client of Umm Mūsā. He was also a narrator. References have been made to both of them in Chapter I. Besides them there might have been a few more among the early Muslim 'Arabs who went to Sind when it was invaded and conquered by the Muslim forces, but nothing is definitely known about them.

Anyhow, in India many Arabic books relating to *Ḥadīth* literature have been written, of which twenty-two are worthy of notice. They may be classed in the following way :—

I.	Commentaries on canonical and other books	6
II.	Re-arrangements of previous collections	3
III.	Dictionary of <i>Ḥadīth</i> literature	1
IV.	<i>Arbaʿūn</i> (a collection of 40 <i>Ḥadīth</i>)	1
V.	New Collections made upon a novel principle	2
VI.	Collections of <i>Ḥadīth</i> relating to some particular topic or problem (<i>i.e.</i> , applied <i>Ḥadīth</i>)	3
VII.	Interpretation of these Secrets (<i>i.e.</i> , the spirit) of <i>Ḥadīth</i>	1
VIII.	Science of the Principles of <i>Ḥadīth</i>	1
IX.	Biographies of Guarantors	2
X.	Forged <i>Ḥadīth</i>	2
	TOTAL	22

I. *Commentaries on the Canonical Works : Six Books.*

Though most of all the canonical and other works have been commented upon in India, here only six books, more valuable than the rest, are mentioned.

1. *Lanḡūt al-Tanqīḥ ʿalā Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (معاني التنقيح على مشكاة المصابيح) by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (1052/1642). He is one of the best known of Indian scholars. He was born in 958/1551; and visited the Ḥijāz in 996/1587. He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* of his age and is rightly honoured as having considerably promoted the studies of *Ḥadīth* in India. He is the author of several works. He

states in his preface that when he was writing his commentary in Persian on the *Mishkāt*, he came across certain learned discussions and subtle points that did not deserve exposition in the Persian language. So he resolved to write an Arabic commentary also, but as he wrote in Arabic by preference, the Persian commentary remained unfinished and the other was completed. This commentary is very copious and valuable. It gives philological explanations, grammatical subtleties, problems of *Fiqh*, various chains of one and the same *Hadīth*, the principles of inference, the correct pronunciation of the names and titles of the narrators, etc. The chief aim of the author is to defend the system of the *Ḥanafī* school by means of *Ḥadīth* in doing which he has succeeded, so much so that, as he himself has remarked, Imām Shāfi'ī seems to be one of *Ashūb al-rā'* and Abū Ḥanīfah, one of *Ashūb al-Zawāhir*. The introduction is interesting and forms a separate treatise by itself, in which the author has explained all the kinds of *Ḥadīth*. He says that any single *Ḥadīth* may be regarded from different standpoints. With regard to the subject-matter it is either a saying or an action; if it is the latter, then it is either *Marfū'* when it is traced back to the Prophet or *Mawqūf* when it goes back to a companion only, or a *Maqṭū'* when it does not go beyond a companion of a companion of the Prophet. From the standpoint of genuineness a *Hadīth* is either *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥasan* or *Ḍa'īf*. It is *Mutawātir*, if it has been narrated by a large number of guarantors in each generation, otherwise *Aḥād* which are, in their turn, either *Mashhūr*, *ʿAzīz* or *Gharīb*. The value of this introduction may be seen in this fact that almost all the Indian editions of the *Mishkāt* have incorporated it as an introduction.

2. Glosses on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (الحاشية على صحيح البخاري) by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sindī (1138/1727). He was born in Thattah, a village in the Sind Province. After

completing his education in India he went to Madīnah and settled there for the rest of his life, gaining there a considerable reputation as a learned scholar and commentator. He wrote glosses on all the six standard books of *Ḥadīth*, and composed other works also. Murādi has spoken of him and his works highly in his *Silk al-Durar*. The work under consideration has been mentioned by Hājji Khalifah. It gives useful explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in the text. It also explains the headings of the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* 'l-Bukhārī.

3. *Al-Musawwā* (المسوي), a commentary on the well-known *Muwattaʿ* of Imām Mālik, composed by Shāh Wali Allāh Dihlawī, whom we have met in the preceding chapter. In this work each *Ḥadīth* is followed by a learned criticism and explanation dealing with different interpretations given by different scholars. The learned commentator has also arranged all the *Ḥadīth* of the *Muwattaʿ* in a form convenient for reference and has mentioned both *Shāfiʿi* and *Hanafī Madhhabs* in each chapter. He has also given Qurʾānic verses in support of the injunctions derived from the *Ḥadīth* of the *Muwattaʿ*. Shāh Wali Allāh also wrote a commentary on the same work in Persian, but it is not so copious as the Arabic one.

4. *Sharḥ Trājim Abwāb al-Bukhārī* (شرح تراجم ابواب البخاري) by the same author. This small book contains illuminating annotations on the headings of the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. The material of the book is not original, but hitherto it had remained scattered in various voluminous commentaries. The merit of the work lies in the fact that reliable and useful notes selected out of the vast and scattered materials have been collected in a brief form in one book. The author has also mentioned some of the principles underlying the headings of the *Bukhārī*; some of them may be given here to show their nature :—

- I. Sometimes al-Bukhāri puts^a as a heading a *Ḥadīth Marfū'* though it does not comply with his rules for deciding the trustworthiness of the narrators, and then in support of this *Ḥadīth*, he mentions another which conforms to his own standard of reliability.
- II. Sometimes he gives as a heading a certain problem which is inferred from a *Nass*.
- III. Sometimes he puts as a heading the *Madhhab* of previous scholars and then he narrates those *Ḥadīth* which justify this *Madhhab*. Sometimes the inference is not positive and so he will put as a heading the phrase *Bāb man Qāla Kadhā* (Chapter on those who hold this opinion).
- IV. Sometimes he puts a controversial problem as a heading and then narrates all the conflicting *Ḥadīth*, to enable the *Faqīh* to decide in any way that he likes.
- V. Sometimes he narrates many *Ḥadīth*, each connected with the heading under which it is put. Then he mentions another *Ḥadīth*, the subject-matter of which is supplementary to what is inferred from the heading. He begins such *Ḥadīth* with the word *Bāb*, which does not mean an altogether new chapter. It merely stands for such a word as *Tanbīh* or *Fā'idah*, used in the works of the authors of the later periods.
- VI. Sometimes he uses the term *Bāb* in place of the *Qawl al-Muḥaddithīn* (the verdict of traditionists).
- VII. Sometimes he mentions as a heading the *Madhhab* of *Ba'd al-Nās* (some people) or a *Ḥadīth* which is not reliable to him, and

then he narrates a genuine *Hadīth* from which he infers against the *Madhhab* or the *Hadīth* quoted as the heading.

5. *Al-Muḥallā* (المحلّي), another commentary on the *Muwattā*, compiled by Salām Allāh (1129-1716) who has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. This work begins with an introduction in which the author deals with the technicalities of *Hadīth* and gives a biographical account of the Imām Mālik and a critical note on the *Muwattā*. The reason for compiling the commentary he himself states to be that as Zarqānī's commentary was not current in India, and as no Indian commentary existed, he felt the necessity of writing an exhaustive commentary on the *Muwattā*. It is rather curious that the author of the commentary under consideration makes no mention of Shāh Walī Allāh's *Musawwā* which had been composed about thirty years before. Perhaps he had not seen it. The reason given by the author is a common one. Zarqānī has put forward the same excuse in the beginning of his well-known commentary.

The *Muḥallā* is a copious commentary. In addition to the explanations of difficult words and phrases, the author discusses problems of *Fiqh* as well. Shāh Walī Allāh's *Musawwā* is much less copious but is better arranged.

6. *Al-Mawāhib al-Laṭīfah* (المواهب اللطيفة), a commentary on the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfah, composed by Muḥammad 'Ābid Sindī (d. 1257/1841). The author was born in a town of Sind. He completed his education at Zabīd and then went to Ṣan'ā', where the minister gave him his daughter in marriage. He afterwards went to Egypt as the ambassador of the Amīr and then, after some time, he returned to his native place in Sind with the intention of settling there. But zeal for learning induced him to go to Madīnah again, where he was appointed *Ra'īs al-'Ulamā'* of the city. He wrote several books, one of which is the

present work. This is not the first book of its kind. Glosses and commentaries on Abū Ḥanīfah's *Musnad* had been composed by several authors among which 'Alī Qārī's is well-known. Muḥammad 'Ābid's commentary is based on the previous works, together with his own method of commenting. He has, for instance, mentioned all other *Ḥadith* which support the *Ḥadith* contained in this *Musnad*. He criticises all controversies on *Fiqh* in favour of the *Hanafi* school to which he himself belonged.

II. Re-arrangement of the Previous Works: Three Works.

1. *Mashūriq al-Anwār al-Nabawiyyah min Siḥāḥ al-Akḥbār al-Mustafawiyyāh* (مشارك الأنوار النبوية من صحاح الأخبار المصطفوية) by Ḥasan b. Ḥasan Ṣaghānī Lāhūrī. One of his forefathers migrated from Ṣaghān to Lahore, where he was born in 570/1174. He received his education from his learned father. In 615/1218 he went to Baghdād. Two years later the Abbasid Caliph sent him as an ambassador to the court of Iltutmish at Delhi where he stayed for about seven years and went back to Baghdād in 624. He was again sent to India on the same mission and returned to Baghdād in 637/1239. He died in 650/1252. He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* and a philologist of repute. This work of his on *Ḥadith* and the *ʿUḇāb* (a dictionary of the Arabic language) are regarded as works of high merits. He also wrote several books on other subjects.

In the present work he has re-arranged those *Ḥadith* which are found in either or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* in an interesting manner according to their initial words, classified systematically. The book is divided into twelve *Bābs*, each *Bāb* being further divided into several *Faṣls*. A few headings may be mentioned to show the nature of the arrangement:—

Bāb I. Those *Ḥadith* which begin with the relative and interrogative pronoun *Man* (من).

Bāb II. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the article *Inna* (اِن), subdivided into ten *Faṣls* according to various pronouns to which this article is prefixed,

e.g., اِنِّى - اِنِّكَ - اِنَّهٗ .

Bāb III. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the negative article *Lā* (لَ).

Bāb IV. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the article *Idhā* (اِذَا) *Idh* (اِ).

Upon this work more than one commentary has been written.

2. *Kānz al-‘Ummāl* (كنز العمال في سنن الاقوال والاعمال) by ‘Ali Muttaqi of Burhānpūr. He was born at Burhānpūr in 885/1480. After completing his education and being admitted to the Chishtī Order, he went to the Ḥijāz where he settled for good. He died in 975/1567. He is the author of many works, the number of which is said to have exceeded a hundred. The celebrated Suyūṭī collected all the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet, contained in the canonical and other collections of *Ḥadīth* in one book entitled *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, the sayings being arranged according to the initial words of *Ḥadīth* and the doings according to the names of the narrators. Of this huge work he later on made an abridgment under the title of *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr* in which he included only those sayings (not doings) which were short and unrepeatd.

‘Ali Muttaqi rearranged all the *Ḥadīth* contained in the *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* under different titles in accordance with the arrangement in works of *Fiqh*. First he arranged the *Ḥadīth* of the *Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr* under the title of *Manhaj al-‘Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl*, and then he arranged the rest of the *Ḥadīth Qawlī* contained in the *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* giving it the name of *Ikmal Manhaj al-‘Ummāl*. Afterwards he put both collections in one book under the title of *Ghāyāt al-‘Ummāl*. Later on he arranged the *Ḥadīth Fi‘lī* (the doings of the Prophet) contained in the

Jam' al-Jawāmi' and named it *Mustadrak al-Aqwāl*. Finally, he combined all these three works under the title of *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, that is to say, the *Kanz* consists of the *Ghāyāt al-Ummāl*, and the *Mustadrak al-Aqwāl*, the former in turn consisting of the *Manhaj* and *Ikmāl*.

The arrangement of the *Kanz* is this that the whole book is divided into sections, called books and arranged alphabetically. First he gives the *Ghāyāt* under the heading 'book' with various chapters, and then he gives the *Mustadrak* (i.e., *Ḥadīth Fīlī*). In the *Ghāyāt*, the *Manhaj* is followed by the *Ikmāl* after each chapter and not after each book. This work has been published at Ḥaydarābād in eight volumes with a very convenient list of the contents. All the *Ḥadīth* are numbered. This work contains forty-six thousand one hundred and eighty *Ḥadīth*. The value of this work as a useful book of reference to *Ḥadīth* cannot be too much emphasised. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, the teacher of the author, used to say "Suyūṭī obliged the world by composing his *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, whilst Alī Muttaqī has obliged him by re-arranging the same."

3. The *Musnad* of Imām A'zam (مسند امام اعظم), to which a reference has been made above. This *Musnad* was arranged according to the headings in treatises on *Fiqh* by Muḥammad 'Ābid of Sind, who has been already mentioned as the author of a commentary on this very work. Not less than fifteen *Musnads* have come down from Abū Ḥanīfah, of which the versions of Al-Ḥārithī and Ibn Khusraw are well known. Muḥammad 'Ābid has arranged those *Ḥadīth* which have come down from the Imām A'zam through Ṣadru' d-Dīn Mūsā al-Khaṣṣakī (d. 650/1252).

III. Dictionary of *Ḥadīth*: One Book.

It is the *Majma' Bihār al-Anwār fī Ghārā'ib al-Tanzīl wa Latā'if al-Akhbār* (مجمع بحار الأنوار في غرائب و لطائف الأخبار), composed by Muḥammad b. Tāhir of

Pattan. He was born at Nahrwālah (now called Pattan) in Gujarāt in 914/1508. Having completed his education in India, he went to the Hījāz at the age of thirty, where he carried on his higher studies with the scholars of the place and became a disciple of 'Alī Muttaqī. Afterwards he returned to his own country where he zealously took up the cause of introducing religious reforms among his countrymen who were Ismā'ilites. For some time he was successful in his mission, but afterwards was killed by them. This work which the author dedicated to his spiritual leader, 'Alī Muttaqī, is a voluminous work consisting of 1668 pages of long size, closely lithographed. It is almost an exhaustive dictionary of both *Ḥadīth* and the Qur'ān. Words are arranged according to the order of the letters of their root. He invariably gives all those derivatives of one root which have been used in *Ḥadīth* together with the text of the *Ḥadīth* in which they occur. He not only gives the meanings of the words but also explains many doubtful points in *Ḥadīth* concerned. This work has almost eclipsed all the previous works of its kind.

IV. *Arba'ūn* (أربعون) : One Book.

In compliance with a *Ḥadīth*, "He, who preserves for my followers forty *Ḥadīth* relating to their religion, will be resuscitated by God among theologians and I will intercede for him on the day of judgment", a large number of *Arba'ūn* have been compiled outside India. Of the few produced in India, one by Shāh Walī Allāh deserves notice. The peculiarity of this selection is that all the *Ḥadīth* contained in this book are reliable traditions that have come down by a regular chain of narrators from the Prophet, right down to the learned compiler, through his teacher Abū Ṭāhir. Madanī, who relates them in his own turn from his father, and so on, which chain is completely mentioned in this work.

V. *New Collections made upon a Novel Principle :
Two Works.*

1. *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Mubashsharāt al-Nubī al-Amīn* (الدر الثمين فى مبشرات النبي الامين) by Shāh Wali Allāh. It is also a collection of forty *Hadīth*, but received in dream from the Prophet. The author has divided them into three classes : (i) those which he himself received from the Prophet, (ii) those which he heard through one medium, and (iii) those which he received through the medium of more than one narrator. A few traditions may be given here to show the general nature of the *Hadīth* contained in this work.

One tradition runs :—

“While I was engaged in *Murāqabah* in a mosque
“at Cambay I saw the holy spirit of the Prophet
“which covered me with a sheet with the
“result that some subtleties of the religious
“mysteries were revealed to me.”

Another is :—

“I asked the Prophet in a dream about the
“*Shī‘ah* sect and he replied that it was *Bāṭil*
“(false).”

In a third dream he asks the Prophet which of the four schools of *Fiqh* is best. “All are equal” was the reply.

The other kinds of *Hadīth* which the author heard through one or more medium are those which were narrated to him by his father or his teacher.

These *Hadīth* cannot be put in the same category as other regular *Hadīth*. They may be called *Hadīth* in this sense that they are traced back to the Prophet ; but they are of no legal value, as having been received only in dreams.

2. *Al-Nawādir min al-Ḥadīth* (النوادر من الحديث) by the same author. This work, though under the same category

is not of the same nature as the previous one. It is just like a *Nawādir* in any other branch of learning, e.g., literature, history, medicine, etc. In this work the author has shown his wit and humour by collecting *Hadith* with some outstanding peculiarities. It is an interesting brief collection. A few *Hadith* may be given here to indicate the sort of book it is :—

(1) He has mentioned one *Hadith* as being *Musnadu 'l-Jinn*—a *Hadith* which a *Jinn* heard from the Prophet. This *Hadith* is the most reliable of all *Hadith*. Even Western scholars will not doubt its genuineness, since the words actually occur in the text of the Qur'ān. The chain of this *Musnadu 'l-Jinn* is very short, but at the same time most reliable to the Muslims. The chain of the narration is *قال اوحى الى الله تعالى عن النبي عن الجن عن النبي* and the text is *انه استمع نفر من الجن قالوا انا سمعنا قرأنا عجباً يهدي الرشد*.

Here the first narrator, some *Jinn*, heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet. "The Qur'ān is the text of the *Hadith*, the *Jinn* is the first narrator, God, the second, and the Prophet, the last.

(2) Another *Hadith* that he mentions is what is called *الحديث السلسل بالاولية*, that is to say, a *Hadith* in which all the narrators, except the last few, say in their turn respectively :—"It is the first *Hadith* that I have heard from the previous guarantor." It runs :—

حدثني السيد عمر وهو اول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثني وهو اول حديث سمعته قال الراحمون رحمهم الرحمن تبارك و تعالى ارحموا من في الارض ير حكم من في السماء -

(3) *الحديث السلسل بالفقهاء* i.e., a *Hadith* in which all the narrators are *Faqīhs*.

(4) A *Hadith* in which all the guarantors are *Sūfis*.

(5) A *Hadith* in which all the narrators are Moorish.

(6) A *Hadith* in which all the transmitters are of one and the same name, Ahmad.

(7) A *Hadith*, the names of whose narrators begin with the letter 'Ayn (ع).

This book is interesting, not from the standpoint of utility, but rather in view of the individual, curious peculiarities of some *Hadith*.

VI. Collections of *Hadith* about some particular Topics or Problems : Three Books.

1. *Talkhīṣ al-Bayān fi 'Alāmāt Mahdī Ākhir al-Zamān* (تلخيص البيان في علامات مهدي آخر الزمان) by 'Ali Muttaqi whom we have known in the preceding pages. This book, as the title indicates, is a collection of *Hadith* about the expected *Mahdī*. It was intended for the guidance of the followers of Muhammad of Jāwnpūr (d. 910/1504), who claimed to be the expected *Mahdī*. The work is not an original one. The author states that as the '*Irf al-Wardī* of Suyūṭī was not systematically arranged and divided into chapters, he has re-arranged it. He also added new material which he collected from other books. It consists of an introduction and thirteen chapters. In the introduction he declares that Muḥammad of Jawnpūr was not the *Mahdī*. He, however, seems to regard him as a saint, but he points out at the same time that it sometimes happens that even a saint makes mistakes and blunders. Only the Prophets were infallible. These are the headings under which he has arranged those *Hadith* :—

1. The miracles of the *Mahdī*.
2. His lineage.
3. His physical features.
4. The circumstances before his appearance.
5. His signs.
6. The way in which allegiance will be paid to him.
7. His helpers.

8. His conquest.
9. His meeting with Christ.
10. The duration of his stay.
11. His death.
12. A mention of those who have called themselves *Mahdī*.
13. The *Fatwā* of the theologians of Makkah and Madinah.

2. *Mā Thabat bi 'l-Sunnah fī Ayyām al-Sanah* (ما ثبت بالسنة في أيام السنة), i.e., what is proved by the *Ḥadīth* with regard to the days of the year, by the great *Muḥaddith* of Delhi, 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq. This work is the first of its kind, as far as known to me. It contains all those *Ḥadīth* which relate to the months of the year. He begins with the month of *Muḥarram* and quotes all the reliable *Ḥadīth* concerning the first ten days of this month. He rejects all those practices which are superstitious and not based on *Ḥadīth*. He declares that such beliefs as this, that he who applies antimony to his eyes on the tenth of *Muḥarram*, will never suffer from inflammation of the eyes, or that he who takes a bath on the tenth of *Muḥarram* will fall ill, are mere superstitions and have no connection with religion. Then he takes a critical survey of all the *Ḥadīth* about the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, followed by an account of the relations between Ibn Zubayr and Mu'āwiyah.

Under the heading of the month *Ṣafar*, he proves the absurdity of the common belief in the inauspiciousness of this month.

Under the heading of the month *Rabī' II*, he gives a short account of 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī whose death is celebrated by Muslims on the 11th of this month.

Then he discusses *Ḥadīth* relating to *Rajab* and the merits and demerits of *Laylat al-Raghā'ib* (the night of desires) which is the night preceding the first Friday of this month.

Similarly, with regard to *Shā'bān*, *Ramaḍān*, *Shawwāl* and *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, he narrates *Ḥadīth* relating to the middle nights of *Shā'bān* and *Ramaḍān*, *Tarāwīḥ*, *Īd al-Fitr*, *Īd al-Athā* and pilgrimage. He does not say anything about the month of *Dhu 'l-Q'adah*, perhaps because he could not find any *Ḥadīth* referring to it.

3. *Tahqīq al-Ishārah Ilā Ta'mīm al-Bishārah bi 'l-Jannah* (تحقيق الاشارة الى تعميم البشارة بالجنة) by the same writer. In this book the author has collected all those *Ḥadīth* which contain a *Bishārah* (good tidings) relating to the entry into Paradise of any companion of the Prophet. At the end, he gives many *Ḥadīth* relating to the merits and excellences of the members of the Prophet's family. He has collected all these *Ḥadīth* from the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Athīr and the *Kanz 'l-Ummāl* of 'Alī Muttaqī.

VII. *The Secrets of Ḥadīth: One Work.*

It is the *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, composed by the great *Shāh Wali Allāh*. The chief characteristic of this book lies in the rational and critical exposition of *Ḥadīth*. Of course, the words 'rational' and 'critical' are not to be taken in the sense as that in which Western scholars use them. One cannot reasonably expect a staunch follower of any religion to criticise the scripture he believes in, in the same way as a man of another religion will do. Still the author deserves some credit for having tried to rationalise his religious dogmas, and consequently the work under consideration has won him the title of the *Ghazālī* of India. In India it is regarded as being superior to the well-known book *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*, which contains many unauthentic *Ḥadīth*.

In the beginning of the book the author says that the basis of all Islamic learning is *'Ilm al-Ḥadīth* dealing with the sayings and doings of the very founder of Islām. This science has many branches, of which *'Ilm al-Asrār* (the

science of the secrets of *Ḥadīth*) is the most important. He who possesses it, is not like that man who, being advised to eat an apple by his medical adviser, ate colocynt^h (*Hinḏal*), on account of the resemblance that exists between the two fruits.

The underlying principles of this work is that every religious injunction of Islām is rational and justifiable from the standpoint of utility, but at the same time, says he, when a *Ḥadīth* has been proved to be authentic and genuine, a man's conduct in acting accordingly should not be dependent upon his knowing the utility of the injunction conveyed by the *Ḥadīth*, because every mind cannot understand everything, and so, says he, we should trust the Prophet rather than our minds.

In order to explain a number of *Ḥadīth* which, he thinks, cannot be explained otherwise, he has maintained the existence of a third world, called '*Ālam Mithāl*', which lies between the material and spiritual world. Everything that exists in this world is said to have a corresponding existence in this intervening world of *Mithāl*.

This book has, in the first place, been divided into two main divisions. The first division which deals with the general principles of inferring the utility of the religious commands and prohibitions, is again divided into seven discussions, each being further split into several chapters. The second main division deals with the rational explanations of all the religious injunctions arranged according to order in works on *Fiqh*.

As this book is considered to be also a work on scholastic theology, it will be discussed further in that connection.

VIII. *The Science of the Principles of Ḥadīth: One Book.*

It is *Al-Fayḍ 'l-Nabawī fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth wa Fahāris al-Bukhārī* (الفيض النبوي في أصول الحديث وفهارس البخاري), composed

by 'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Nahrwālī (Pattānī). Nothing is known of the author except that he was a resident of Pattan.

This book consists of an introduction, in which the author explains the technicalities of *Ḥadīth*, and four chapters, in which he dwells upon the various kinds of *Ḥadīth*, rules for deciding the truthfulness of the guarantors, and conditions for receiving and transmitting *Ḥadīth*. Then follow various other discussions, concluding with a critical note on Bukhārī and his work, a survey of all the chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with regard to the number of the *Ḥadīth* they contain, an alphabetical list of the guarantors and a copious commentary on the first two books (chapters) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.*

*IX. The Biographies of the Ḥadīth Narrators :
Two Works.*

1. *Darr al-Saḥābah fī Bayān Mawāḍi' Wafayāt al-Saḥābah* (در الصحابة في بيان مواضع وفيات الصحابة), composed by Ḥasan Ṣaghānī, whom we have known as the author of the *Mashūriq al-Anwār*. It is a small treatise and deals with the places in which about eight hundred companions of the Prophet died. The names are arranged alphabetically.

2. *Kitāb Asmā' Rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣūbiḥ* (کتاب اسماء رجال مشكاة المصابيح) by Abdu 'l Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi. It deals with all the guarantors of the *Ḥadīth* contained in the *Mishkāt*. The author begins with comparatively long accounts of the four rightly directed Caliphs and then, after the accounts of the members of the Prophet's family, follow the biographical notices of all the remaining narrators alphabetically arranged.

* See Loth, No. 131.

X. *Forged Ḥadīth : Two Books.*

1. *Al-Risālah fī al-Mawḍū'āt min al-Ḥadīth* (رسالة في الموضوعات من الحديث) by Ḥasan Ṣaghānī. It contains those *Ḥadīth* which the author regards as being forged (موضوع).

2. *Risālat al-Mawḍū'āt* (رسالة الموضوعات) by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the author of the dictionary of *Ḥadīth* already referred to.

The book begins with an introduction in which the author warns his readers that a *Ḥadīth* should not be taken to be forged merely because it has been said by some one to be so, unless authorities are consulted. The *Mawḍū'āt* of Ibn Jawzī, says he, for instance, contains many *Ḥadīth* such as are *Ḥasan*, not to speak of *Ḍa'īf*. Then follows criticism on the merits and demerits of those *Ḥadīth* which are said to be *Mawḍū'* by one scholar or another. It is a useful work on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE ON FIQH

As far as the *Ḥadīth* literature is concerned, there is little or no variance among the *Sunnīs*, who have, in all times, formed an overwhelming majority of the Muslim population. It is *Fiqh* which has divided them into four schools. The majority of Indian Muslims have always been *Ḥanafīs*, that is, the followers of the *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfah. By the time the Indian Muslims commenced to take part in the composition and compilation of works in Arabic, so much literature had been produced on the subject of *Fiqh*, whether *Ḥanafī* or of other schools, that no further efforts were made to produce works on original lines and writers confined themselves almost entirely to the production of commentaries, glosses and new compendiums. Hence India's contribution to Arabic literature on *Fiqh* is nothing more than the construction of new edifices in imitation of the old ones, and out of the same materials, with a very slight change in the design. Moreover, I am not aware that, since the composition of the standard work on *Fiqh*, any other countries have been able to produce books of any original character upon this subject, in spite of the greater opportunities they have had for making contributions to Arabic literature.

Of all the numerous works relating to *Fiqh*, produced in India, eighteen deserve notice. They may be classed as follows:—

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----|-----|---|
| I. | Critical Account of <i>Fiqh</i> | ... | ... | 2 |
| II. | The Principles of <i>Fiqh</i> : | | | |
| | (A) Text Books | ... | ... | 1 |

(B) Commentaries on Standard Works	...	3
III. <i>Fiqh</i> (proper):		
(A) <i>Hanafī</i> School :		
(a) <i>Fatāwā</i>	... ..	5
(b) Various Topics	... ..	6
(B) <i>Shāfi'ī</i> School	... ..	1
		<hr/>
TOTAL	...	18

I. Critical Account of Fiqh: Two Works.

1. *Al-Inṣāf fī Bayān Sabab al-Ikhtilāf* (انصاف في بيان سبب الاختلاف). This is a work by *Shāh* *Walī Allāh* of Delhi, whom we have known in the preceding chapters, and is a critical account of the theological differences among the *Sunnīs*. The author has ably traced out the history of those differences.

Fiqh, says he, did not exist in the time of the Prophet, nor were theoretical problems introduced in that period. The Prophet did a certain thing and his companions watched him doing it; this was sufficient for their guidance. The people did not put to him more than thirteen questions, which are mentioned in the *Qur'ān*.

All the companions of the Prophet were not always with him; hence there was a good deal of difference in their personal knowledge of his sayings and doings. It was a common practice among the companions to enquire from one another if any practical problem arose, of which they themselves did not know the solution. The companions of the Prophet settled down later on in different places. When they were asked by the next generation to give a solution of any new problems, they naturally said in reply what they knew. This is one of the causes that led to the differences existing in *Fiqh*.

The second cause that he mentions is the different interpretations of the Prophet's sayings and doings. A bad

memory is also given as one of the causes. Then the author traces the history of two different schools of *Fiqh*: one at Madinah, where the *Fatāwā* of the first three Caliphs were current, and the other at Kūfah where the *Fatāwā* of 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd had supremacy.

2. '*Iqd al-Jid fī Ahkām al-Ijtihād wa'l-Taqlid*' (عقد الجيد في احكام الاجتهاد و التقايد) by the same author. It is an interesting book full of useful information, discussed in a critical manner. It is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter he discusses the four bases of *Ijtihād*: the Qur'ān, *Sunnah* (the Prophet's sayings and doings), *Ijmā'* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (analogy). In the second chapter he gives an account of the differences among the *Mujtahids* and *Faqīhs*. In the third chapter he emphasises the importance of adherence to one of the four schools and warns the reader against the contrary practice. In the fourth chapter he describes various classes of people from the point of view of their capacity for theological inference. He has divided them into four classes:

- (1) Founders of schools;
- (2) Jurists having a capacity for independent judgment within the limits of a school founded by some greater scholar;
- (3) Theologians well versed in theology but not capable of giving independent judgments.
- (4) Mere followers who entirely depend upon the guidance of theologians and learned men.

In the fifth chapter he warns the reader against the misuse of *Taqlid* and says that a follower of any particular school must not look down upon other systems or attach too much importance to his own *Imām*.

The value of such a clear exposition of the problem of *Taqlid* as this book offers, may be realised when it is seen that the author, Shāh Walī Allāh, is equally held in high

honour and respect by those Indians who are *Muqallidūn* and by those who follow the doctrine of *Ahl al-Hadīth*, represented by the party of the late editor of the monthly periodical *al-Manār* in Egypt, and by the followers of Nāwwāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan Khān in India.

II. *The Principles of Fiqh: One Book.*

On this subject in India there has been composed a book, which, like many famous text books, has served as the basis for a long series of commentaries. It is entitled *Musallam al-Thubūt* (مسلم الثبوت), composed by the great Indian philosophical writer, Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, whose fame has secured him admittance into the *Encyclopædia of Islām* under the word 'Bihārī'. He was born at Karah, a village in Bihār. He received his education from distinguished scholars such as Quṭb al-Dīn Ṣhamsābādī and others, and became one of the most eminent scholars of his age. He paid a visit to Awrangzib when the latter was in the Deccan. The Emperor appointed him Qāḍī of Lucknow. He died in 1119/1707. He is the author of several works of which the present book on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* and another entitled the *Sullam*, on logic, hold a high rank in the Indian curriculum.

The *Musallam al-Thubūt* was, as indicated by its very chronogrammatical name, written in 1109/1697. This book is nothing more than a mere reproduction of the previous material, but arranged in so scholarly a manner that it has ever since occupied an honoured place as a text-book in the Indian curriculum of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Several Indian scholars, including the eminent man of letters known as *Baḥr al-Ulūm* (the ocean of sciences), who has also received mention in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, have employed their pens in expounding the meaning hidden behind the wonderful brevity of the style of this book.

In the beginning *‘Ilm al-Fiqh* and *‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* were one and the same thing, but in course of time they became two separate sciences. The *Aḥkām Mustakḥrajaḥ* (deduced judgments) began to be called *Fiqh*, while those principles which governed those *Aḥkām Mustakḥrajaḥ* received the name of *‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. It was Imām Shāfi‘ī who first wrote a book on this subject. The relation between these two sciences is the same as that between dogmas and scholastic theology, that is to say, just as the aim of the latter is to rationalise the former, similarly the object of *‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is to lay down principles from which corollaries may be rationally inferred.

The book consists of an introduction, two main sections, one called *Mabādī* (data) and the other *Maqāṣid* (conclusions), and an appendix. The introduction contains discussions on the definition, scope and purpose of this science. The author defines it as a brief statement of the arguments and principles a theologian requires in order to work out the detailed arguments. For instance, says he, this science deals with such a principle as may guide us to infer from the verse, *Ātū al-Zakāt* (آتُوا الزَّكَاةَ) that *Zakāt* is incumbent and necessary. The difference between logic and *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is this that the former is concerned with the mode of arguing and thinking and not with the truth, or otherwise, of the premises, while the latter aims at both the aspects. The four ‘roots’ for the deduction of laws, the *Qur’ān*, *Sunnāh* (the Prophet’s sayings and doings), *Ijmā‘* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (analogy), are the subject-matter of this science. The purpose of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is to gain knowledge of religious injunctions.

The section of *Mabādī* is divided into three divisions called *Maqālahs*. The first *Maqālah* deals with logical problems, and so it may be regarded as a chapter on logic. The second *Maqālah* is again divided into four chapters. The first deals with *Hākīm*, that is to say, the principal or final

authority for good and bad. The author says that God is unanimously recognised to be the final authority; but according to the Ash'arites goodness and badness are religious judgments, that is, the action which has been ordered to be done by religion is good and that which is prohibited is bad. The Hanafites and Mu'tazilites, on the other hand, hold that goodness and badness exist in things themselves, independently of religious commands and prohibitions. He further discusses this problem in detail and points out the difference between Hanafites on the one hand and the Mu'tazilites on the other.

The second chapter of the second *Maqālah* deals with the nature of *Hukm* and its various kinds, such as *Fard* (obligatory), *Wājib* (incumbent), *Mustahabb* (approved), *Mandūb* (a thing the doing of which is more excellent than leaving it undone but which it is allowable to leave undone), *Jā'iz* (allowable), *Makrūh* (disapproved), and *Harām* (unlawful). The third chapter is devoted to a discussion on man's capability or incapability of religious responsibilities. The fourth contains discussions on religious obligations.

The third *Maqālah* dwells on some subtle grammatical, philological and rhetorical topics which are essential for a thorough understanding of the language of the Islamic scripture.

The *Maqāsid* consists of four chapters called *Uṣūl*, dealing with the four 'roots' of the Islamic deductions. The appendix dwells upon *Ijtihād*.

It may be of interest to note that Amān Allāh Benārsī, an eminent scholar of the age, was a contemporary of Muḥibb Allāh. They used to hold polemic discussions with each other on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. We find that Muḥibb Allāh often refers to his rival in his book, in order to refute his way of thinking.

The *Musallam al-Thubūt* as a text-book is highly appreciated not only in India but also in Egypt. The author

was an expert in writing text-books, and several commentaries have been written upon them. But it is a matter of great regret that this way of writing text-books and commentaries has been harmful rather than useful to learning. Both these forms of literary composition were carried to extremes. The text-books are brief to obscurity or even worse, while the commentaries are tedious, lengthy and full of uncalled for and unnecessary matter, so that it is very difficult, even for a serious student, to follow the main trend of thought. But we cannot blame Muḥibb Allāh for this defect, for this way of writing text-books had been long established as the accepted fashion of the time and had been regarded as a laudable practice. His merit as a text-book writer should be judged from the standard of the time in which he lived and not from that of our time, in which text-books are written as lucidly and clearly as possible.

(b) *Commentaries on Standard Books of Uṣūl Fiqh :*
Two Books.

1. A commentary on Jalāl al-Dīn al-Kḥabbāzī's (691/1291) *Muḡhnī* (شرح المغنى) compiled by 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī. His full name is Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī. Having received his education from Wajīh al-Dīn Dihlawī and Shams al-Dīn Khatīb Dihlawī and other Indian scholars, he went to Egypt where he was recognised as a great theologian and was, later on, appointed a Qāḍī. He is the author of many books. He was chiefly interested in *Fiqh*. He died in 773/1371. His commentary on the *Muḡhnī* is copious and reliable. Hājji Khalīfah has mentioned it.

2. A commentary on the celebrated Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī's *Manār al-Anwār* (شرح منار الانوار) composed by Mullā Jīwan whom we have known as the author of the

Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadī. He states in his introduction that there are several commentaries on this book, but they are either too lengthy and tedious or too short and obscure.

The value of this work may be judged by the fact that when he went to Madīnah and delivered lectures there on this book, they were so much appreciated by the scholars there that he was urged to combine and expand them into the form of a regular commentary on the *Mamūr*, and this commentary he completed during his short stay at Madīnah. On this commentary more than one super-commentary has been written in India.

III. *Fiqh (Proper)*.

A. *Ḥanafī School* :

(a) *Fatāwā : Five Books*.

1. *Al-Fatāwā al-Ḥammādiyyah* (الفتاوى الحمادية) compiled by Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Rukn b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muftī of Nagore, while he was at Nahrwālah in Gujarāt, with the help of his son, at the instance of Qāḍī Ḥammād al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Akram, after whom this book was named. Nothing more is known of the author and the patron. From the works quoted in this book and from those containing references to it, it may be inferred that this book was composed in the end of the eighth or in the beginning of the ninth century of the *Hijra*. The author has given a long list of all the books which he consulted for the compilation of this work. It is a reliable book and is quoted in the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*. The arrangement is the same as in other collections of *Fatāwā*.

2. *Ibrāhīm Shāhiyyah fī al-Fatāwā al-Ḥanafīyyah* (ابراهيم شاهيه في الفتاوى الحنفية) composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad entitled Nizām Jilānī, for the Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (941-955/1534-1548) with the help of one hundred and sixty books. Hājji Khalīfah has

mentioned it and said : *هو كبير كفاضي خان جمعه من مائة ستين*,
(It is a large book like the *Fatāwā* of Qādī Khān. It has been compiled from one hundred and sixty books.)

3. *Fatāwā Jāmi'* (or *Majma'*) • *al-Barakāt*
(فتاوي جامع البركات) compiled by Abu 'l-Barakāt in the time of Awrangzīb. It is, according to the usual arrangement of works on *Fiqh*, divided into several books, each book being subdivided into many chapters. It is not a voluminous work.

4. *Khizānat al-Riwāyāt* (خزانة الروايات) composed by Chakan al-Hindī of Gujarāt (920/1514). Hājji Khalīfah has also mentioned it. It is just like the preceding books, a work on the details of the *Ḥanafī* laws, and is a mere compilation from various works of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries which the author often quotes. The order of the arrangement is just like that of others, except that a 'Book of Knowledge' by way of an introduction has been put in the beginning. The author states in the beginning that he has throughout his life been interested in the studies of *Fiqh* and in the investigation of theological problems, the results of which he has arranged in the present work.

In the 'Book of Knowledge' he deals with the excellences of knowledge and men of letters. Being *Ḥanafī*, he has written a discourse about the merits and qualifications of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah. He also explains the technicalities of *Fatāwā* and *Muftī*. As regards the principles of *Fatāwā*, he says that in the first place it must be based on positive proof, derived from the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. Failing that, it is to be based upon the decisions of Abū Ḥanīfah, then upon those of Abū Yūsuf and afterwards upon those of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, and so on. The *Muftī* is at liberty to choose any way that he likes, if Abū Ḥanīfah thinks in one way and both of his pupils in another; but if any of them sides with the teacher, then their decision is to

be given preference, except when the standard theologians have, for the sake of some expediency (*Istiṣlāḥ*), followed the single opinion of either of the two pupils. If a *Muftī* happens to find a reliable *Ḥadīth* and he is satisfied with its holding good, the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah should be given up, according to his well-known saying, 'Abandon my opinion if it is opposed to a genuine *Ḥadīth*.'

5. *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī* (فتاوی عالمگیری) known outside India as *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥindīyyah*, which is superior to all the Indian works of this class and one of the best books ever produced on the *Ḥanafī* Law after the compilation of the well-known *Hidāyah*, which is valued by *Ḥanafīs* next to the *Qur'ān* as indicated by these two complets :

أَن الْمُهْدَايَةَ كَالْقُرْآنِ قَدْ دَسَخَتْ * مَصْنُفُوا قَبْلَهَا فِي الشَّرْعِ مِنْ كُتُبِ
فَاحْفَظْ قَوَاعِدَهَا وَاسْلُكْ مَسَالِكَهَا * يَسْلَمْ مَقَالِكَ مِنْ زَيْغٍ وَ مِنْ كَذِبِ

(Verily the *Hidāyah* has, like the *Qur'ān*, cancelled all the religious books that were composed before. Then master its principles and traverse its paths, so that your speech may be safe from error and untruth.)

This vast work, consisting of six volumes, was composed by a committee of Indian theological doctors, with *Shaykh Nizām* as the president, appointed by Awrangzib, one of the greatest patrons of Islamic learning in India. By the composition of this valuable work India has made an appreciable contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of *Fiqh*. It is not an original work, but at the same time not a mere reproduction. As mentioned already, no book can be expected to have been original on *Fiqh*, after the compilation of the standard works, and also in view of the stagnant condition of Islamic learning at that time. The merit of this work lies in its being compiled not by a single author, but by a group of eminent theologians who had consulted all the previous standard books and spared

no pains to produce a reliable and useful compilation. The following are some of its special features:—

- (1) The arrangement is the same as that of the *Hidāyah*.
- (2) Great efforts have been made, with the utmost possible caution and ingenuity, to discuss and explain all problems.
- (3) It is devoid of recapitulation and superfluous matter.
- (4) It is also free from unnecessary arguments and parallels.
- (5) In most cases, it is confined to the obvious aspects of the traditions and opinions quoted, and has nothing to do with rare decisions, except when there is no other solution.
- (6) It always gives quotations from the standard books.
- (7) When there are two conflicting solutions for one and the same problem in the standard books, it gives preference to either of the two, by adding additional arguments.

(b) *Books on Various Topics relating to Fiqh :*

Fire Books.

1. *Zubdat al-Aḥkām fī Ikhṭilāf al-ʿImmat al-Aʿlām* (زبدة الاحكام فى اختلاف الائمة الاعلام) by Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Ishāq, whom we have already noticed. The object of this book is to point out all the differences of all the four schools of *Fiqh*. It is arranged under the usual headings; and the subject is dealt with problem by problem, the differences of the four systems being given, if there are any. For instance, in the 'Book of Purification' (كتاب الطهارة), the author says that all of them agree that the essentials (*Furūd*) of an ablution are four in number;—

washing of the face, washing of both the hands up to the elbows, passing the wet hands over the head, and lastly the washing of both the feet. But they disagree as to some additional details. *Niyyah* (intention) and *Tartīb* (order) are desirable but not essential to *Ḥanafīs*, contrary to *Shāfi'īs*, while *Mālikites* hold that the former is *Fard* but not the latter. This work is somewhat new of its kind. It is brief and well arranged.

2. *Al-Mansak al-Ṣaḡīr* (المنسك الصغير) composed by Raḥmat Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (990/1582). Raḥmat Allāh and his friend 'Abd Allāh, two natives of Sind, went to the Ḥijāz and settled there and became disciples of 'Alī Muttaqī of Burhānpūr, the author of the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*. These two friends were much respected there for their piety and learning and were called *Shaykhayn*. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi, who was also a pupil of 'Alī Muttaqī, records that Khwājah 'Abd al-Rashīd used to remark that these two *Shaykhayn* often reminded him of the other *Shaykhayn*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and 'Umar al-Fārūq.*

I saw a MS. of this work in the Berlin Library.† It is, as indicated by its very title, a book on the laws concerning pilgrimage. The author wrote a voluminous work on this topic, entitled *al-Man-sak al-Kabīr* (المنسك الكبير) of which the present work is an abridgment. The value of this book may be judged from the fact that a great theologian of Persia, no other than Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī (1014/1605) thought it worth while to write a commentary on it.

3. *Tahqīq Arūdī al-Hind* (تحقيق اراضي الهند) composed by Shaykh Jalāl Thānesarī (982/1574). He was both a learned man and a Sūfī, being the Khalifah of the saint 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī. The present book relates to landed property in India. As it deals exclusively with problems that are peculiar to India, a fuller description may not be out of place.

* *Akhbār* 'l-Akhḡār, 273.

† Berlin No. 4055.

The object of the author in writing this book is to refute the idea of some scholars that if any piece of land in India is given by the *Imām*, that is to say, the Muslim king, to an undeserving Muslim, it does not become his legal property and hence it is not lawful for him to sell it and benefit by the price it fetches.

He says that India was conquered four centuries ago by force and not by peaceful means ; and it is not known who was the owner and of what land. Nobody knows what has happened to the original owners during this long time. Under these circumstances all lands in India are unclaimed property. If, in any village, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims who owned the land before the conquest of India by the Muslims, they cannot continue to be the legitimate owners of the land, as they have not been on good terms with the Muslims. Hence the condition of the Indian land is this, that it is neither distributed among the victorious warriors nor is in the possession of the non-Muslims. If later on the survivors of the original non-Muslim owners began somehow or other to cultivate these pieces of land, it would not imply that their possession of the land has been confirmed by the State. Thus the author concludes that all the lands in India are the property of *Bayt al-Māl* and whosoever cultivates them, having the permission of the *Imām*, becomes the legitimate owner of them in virtue of their cultivation.

If in any village, further argues the author, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims whose possession of the land was confirmed by the *Imām*, it may be said that in the first place their lineage is not certain, and in the second place, there is a difference of opinion between the *Ḥanafī* and *Shāfiʿī* schools as regards this point, i.e., whether the *Imām* can confirm the possession of a non-Muslim owner after the conquest of the territory by Muslims. According to *Shāfiʿī* law, an *Imām* cannot give

land to a *Kāfir*, as it is an encroachment on the right of the victorious warriors and fighting units, while the *Ḥanāfī* legists take the contrary view. The author, weighing the arguments of both the schools, concludes that in these problems we must follow the *Shāfi'ī* law, especially when non-Muslims are not on good terms with the Muslims and do not humble themselves, and so the Qur'ānic verse, حتى يؤتوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون (*i.e.*, until they pay the toll tax with humility), does not apply to them.

4. *Farā'id al-Islām* (فرائض الإسلام), composed by Muḥammad Ḥāshim b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Sindī (1174/1760). The author received his education from Makhdūm Ḍiyā' al-Dīn and soon rose into prominence as a practical scholar in his province on account of his learning and earnest zeal for the spread of Islām. Through his influence hundreds of Hindus are said to have embraced Islām. He was in correspondence with Nādir Shāh, who held him in high favour. He is the author of several books.

In the present work, the author deals with the essentials (*Farā'id*) of worship, and gives them a definite number. He has reckoned them to be one thousand two hundred and sixty-two, of which three hundred and thirty-two relate to faith and the rest to practice. He has classified all the *Farā'id* under various headings, systematically arranged. This book is of a somewhat new type and is full of information.

5. *Jāmi' al-Ta'zīrāt* (جامع التعزيرات). This work is comparatively modern, but not of the period after the Indian Mutiny. It was written in 1220 A.H. (1805) by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī who was the Qāḍī at Calcutta when Henry Clerk and Herbert Harrington were judges there.

The author states that though the most important section of *Fiqh* is that which deals with *Hadd* (Divine ordinance), *Qisās* (retaliation) and *Ta'zīr* (punishments for criminal offences), as it is the section through which the life

and property of a man are rendered safe and secure, yet there is not a single book dealing exclusively with these problems. Having felt the need for such a work, he, at the encouragement of Herbert Harrington, composed this work. This book contains an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction he distinguishes between a *Hadd* and a *Ta'zīr* in the following way :—

- I. *Hadd* is fixed by the *Nass* (explicit text), while *Ta'zīr* depends upon the will of the *Imām* or *Qāḍī*.
- II. *Hadd* cannot hold good when there is a doubt of the slightest degree, while *Ta'zīr* is established by a doubt.
- III. A minor is immune from *Hadd* but not from *Ta'zīr*.
- IV. *Hadd* is common to both a Muslim and a non-Muslim, whereas *Ta'zīr* is applicable to a Muslim only.

Although the book has been written entirely from the Muslim standpoint and strictly follows *Fiqh*, yet one cannot but notice the influence of the newly brought culture of the West in the book. The arrangement and the treatment of the subject reveal it. It is an interesting work and is a credit to the author. It is a matter of regret that it has not been discovered what reception this book received at the hands of the Indian Muslims at that time. It would have been interesting to know that.

B. Works on *Shāfi'ī Fiqh*: Two Books.

As already mentioned, the majority of the Indian Muslims adhere to the *Hanafī* school. Only in Southern India are the followers of the *Imām Shāfi'ī* to be found. They are largely the descendants of those Arabs who migrated there from Southern Arabia ; and as the emigrants were *Shāfi'ī*, a large number of their descendants also adhere to the same school. In Mālābār where *Shāfi'īs* are found

in a majority, and where Arabic studies are almost as popular as Persian in Northern India, it might reasonably be expected that there must have been written some books on the *Shāfi'ī* law. I have found only two books, one written in Mālābār and the other, near Bombay.

1. *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī* (فقه مخدومي), composed by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (835/1431), the author of the *Tafsīr-i-Rahmānī* whom we have already noticed. It is a small book and relates to 'Ibādāt only. It has been lithographed and also translated into Urdu at Bombay. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the author of the Urdu *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, states in his review of the book that save a few slight errors that have crept in, the book is quite a useful work for the average *Shāfi'ī*.

2. *Qurrat al-'ayn* (قرّة العين) and its commentary, the *Fath al-Mu'in* (فتح المعين), both composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. after 991/1583), the author of the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين). Very little is known of the author. A passing remark occurs in the *Akḥbār al-Akhyār* (اخبار الاخيار) by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (1052/1642). 'Alī Muttaqī, the spiritual leader of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, when relating his adventures in Mālābār, says that he happened to see 'Abd al-'Azīz there and that he was *Shāfi'ī* and a Qāḍī. Besides the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* and the present work, Zayn al-Dīn wrote another book which contains *Aḥādīth* and *Āthār* (traditions) about death and the after life.

This present work is a valuable, handy book on *Shāfi'ī Fiqh* and is popular in Mālābār.

CHAPTER V

TASAWWUF OR ISLAMIC MYSTICISM AND ETHICS

Having considered the contribution of India to the branches of Arabic literature concerned with the Qur'ān, *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, in the present chapter we will pass in review what she has contributed towards that department of Arabic literature which, though still connected with Islamic theology, is less dogmatic and more emotional, less rigid and more catholic, less argumentative but more convincing and appealing—a literature that concerns itself with the inner life of the Muslim and embodies the emotional philosophy of Islām.

When Indian thinkers first began to write in Arabic, the standard books on *Sūfism*, such as the *Kitāb al-Lum'ah* (كتاب اللمعة) by Shaykh Abū Naṣr (370/980), *al-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah* (الرسالة القشيرية) by Qushayrī (465/1072), the '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*' (آراء المعارف) by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (632/1234), and the *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam* (فصوص الحکم) by Ibn 'Arabī (638/1240), had already been composed and mysticism had taken a definite form, which the Indian *Ṣūfis* followed in much the same way as those of other countries. Hence, we find in the Arabic literature of mysticism produced in India the same method of treatment as in earlier writings and a repetition of familiar subject-matter.

The theory, which represents Islamic *Ṣūfism* to be the product of Indian thought, has become discredited and modern researches have shown that Islamic mysticism is a complex, derived from various sources, one of which is

Indian Buddhism. But it is noteworthy that if Islamic mysticism was ever influenced by Indian thought, this influence was probably operative outside India, that is to say, in Eastern Persia and Transoxiana where Buddhist teaching is said to have exerted considerable influence in the eleventh century. But it has not absorbed elements from the Vedānta or any other Indian system, as far as known to the present writer, since its advent in a fully developed form into India. We do not find in the Sūfiistic literature produced in India anything alien to the earlier Islamic mysticism as it was brought to India, with the exception of certain astrological references that have crept into some writings.

Of the many books produced in India on *Tasawwuf* and on the allied subject, about a score deserve mention. They fall under the following heads:—

I.	The theological support of the "Path"			
	(<i>Tarīqah</i>)	...	...	3
II.	Mysticism proper	...	...	6
III.	Versified treatment	...	...	1
IV.	Methods and practices of the "Path"	...	...	2
V.	Revelations: Mystic utterances and sayings	...	...	1
VI.	Collections of moral and mystical aphorisms	...	...	2
VII.	Commentaries on the books written outside India	...	...	2
VIII.	Lawfulness or otherwise of <i>Samāʿ</i> (Music)	...	...	3
IX.	The formulæ for invoking Divine blessings on the Prophet	...	...	2
TOTAL				22

I. Theological support of the "Path": Three Works.

1. *Lawā'ih al-Anwār fī Radd 'Alā Man Ankara 'Alā al-'Arifīn Latā'if al-Asrār* (لوائح الأنوار في رد على من انكر على العارفين)

(لطائف الاسرار), composed by Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Ishāq, previously mentioned, in reply to a question put to him, whether a certain Ṣūfī was to be condemned for having regarded the *Laylat al-Qadr* as inferior to the *Laylat al-Tajallā* in the following two couplets:—

تَحَدَّى بِأَوْصَافِ الْجَمَالِ فَشَهِدَتْ عَيْنُونَ قُلُوبَ مَا بِهِ حَارَ ذُو الْفَكْرِ
فِيهَا لَيْلَةُ فِيهَا السَّعَادَاتُ وَالْمُنَى لَقَدْ صَغُرَتْ فِي جَنْبِهَا لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ

[He (God) appeared with all the attributes of beauty, and the eyes of hearts saw what bewildered the thinker.

How glorious the night, full of bliss and hope, compared to which even the *Laylat al-Qadr* is insignificant!]

The author commences his treatise with the praise of God and His Prophet in a manner befitting his theme, and then, after discussing the nature of *Ma‘rifah* (Divine Knowledge) he gives his judgment in favour of the Ṣūfī.

2. *Al-Qawl al-Jamīl fī Bayān Sawā’ al-Sabīl* (القول الجميل في بيان سواء السبيل) composed by Shāh Walī Allāh. The book is divided into several chapters. The first chapter deals with the nature and essence of *Bay‘ah* (allegiance). The second contains an account of the various grades of the “traversers of the “Path” (*al-Sālikūn*). The third, fourth and fifth are devoted to the description of the Ṣūfīistic practices of the *Qādirī*, *Chishtī* and *Naqshbandī* orders. The sixth deals with the significance and importance of the *Nisbah* (affinity or attachment with the spiritual leader).

The interesting character of the book justifies a passing reference to some of its important points.

The author first traces the origin of *Bay‘ah* (allegiance). He says that in the early days of Islām; it was of five kinds: *Bay‘ah* by way of political allegiance to the Caliph; *Bay‘ah* at the time of conversion to Islām, *Bay‘ah* by way of pledge at the time of flight; *Bay‘ah* by way of a pledge to be firm in a religious war; and lastly, *Bay‘ah* by way of a pledge to live a pious and religious

life, with which *Bay'ah* he identifies the *Bay'ah* of the "Path" (*Tarīqah*) and declares it to be a *Sunnah*, as by a reliable *Hadith* it is established that on many occasions the Prophet took this pledge from Muslim men and women. This kind of *Bay'ah* is mentioned in the Qur'an also.*

As to the utility of the *Bay'ah* of the "Path," he says that it is a psychological fact that if one and the same piece of advice is given to one person by various bodies, the effect varies according to the personality of the adviser. If he is of an outstanding personality and character, his admonitions will be more effective upon his disciple.

Then the author lays down the following five conditions for a spiritual leader. In the first place, he should have an adequate practical knowledge of the Islamic theology. Secondly, he must be a strict observer of justice and piety. Thirdly, he should not be influenced by worldly considerations. Fourthly, he should advise his disciples in accordance with the commands and prohibitions of religion. Lastly, he must have obtained a full training from an older spiritual leader.

The author also lays down some conditions for a candidate for discipleship: he must be sane and of age, and must have a strong faith in the man whom he chooses as his spiritual leader.

Then the author describes the way in which the *Bay'ah* of the "Path" is affected. The spiritual leader should hold the hand of his would-be disciple and make him recite the formula of the Islamic creed and then, after bidding him repent of his previous misdeeds and sins, should take from him a solemn pledge that in future, as far as possible, he will keep himself free from sins.

*The Qur'an, IX, 112 ; XLVIII, 10, 18 ; LX, 12.

At the end the author describes the methods and practices of those various mystical orders to which he himself belonged.

As the author is considered to be one of the greatest traditionists of his age, this work is valued as being reliable and trustworthy.

3. *Irshādū't Ṭālibīn wa Ṭā'īdu l-Murīdīn* (ارشاد الطالبين , تأييد المريدين), composed by Qādī Ṭhanā' Allāh of Panipat whom we have already known as the author of the *Tafsīr-i-Maẓharī*. This work is divided into six sections, called 'books.' The contents of these sections are as follows :—

Section I. On Sainthood.

Section II. On the duties of disciples.

Section III. On the duties of spiritual leaders.

Section IV. Describing the ways of spiritual progress and the attainment of Sainthood.

Section V. On the various stages of Divine nearness.

Section VI. On the merits and excellences of some great Saints, *viz.*, 'Abdu 'l-Qādir Jilānī, Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Naqshband, Aḥmad Sarhindī entitled Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī, his sons and Mirzā Jān-Jānān (the author's spiritual leader).

Each of these sections is further divided into several chapters, dealing with interesting and useful topics concerning Ṣūfīism.

The author being a great theologian of his age, this work is also regarded as authentic and reliable from the orthodox stand-point.

II. *Taṣawwuf Proper : Two Works.*

1. *Al-Tuḥafat al-Mursalat ila al-Nabiyy* (التهفة المرسلة الى النبي), composed by Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh (1029/1620). The author was a disciple of Wajih al-Dīn of Gujarāt who

was a Ṣufi and a man of learning. This treatise deals with the problem of pantheism (*Wahdat al-Wujūd*). He says that God is the only Being (*Wujūd*) and that Being, though only one, appears in different garments. This Being is the reality of all existing things, and this Being, as such, can neither be revealed to anyone nor can be comprehended by the mind.

For this Being there are seven following stages:—

The first stage is Absolute Being—Being, without any restrictions or attributes. This stage is called *Aḥadiyyat* and is the reality of the real. The second stage is that of the first restriction, which implies the self-knowledge of this Being in a summary manner and of its attributes and of all creatures to come. This stage is called *al-Wahdat* and is the reality of Muḥammad.

The third stage is that of the second restriction, which implies the detailed knowledge of His Being and attributes and of the world. This stage is called *Wāḥidiyyat* and is the reality of man. All these three stages are declared to be eternal.

The fourth stage is that of spirits, *i.e.*, things abstract and simple (uncompounded). The fifth stage is that of *‘Ālam al-Mithāl*, that is to say, things compound, but still too fine to be divisible. The sixth stage is that of *‘Ālam al-Amthāl*, that is to say, things compound, material and so capable of divisibility. The seventh stage is that which comprehends all the foregoing stages, and is the last division, and is identified with man.

The names of the first three stages are different derivatives of one and the same root, *Aḥad*, which means ‘One.’ Philologically, there is no difference between the meanings of these words, but the author has made use of them, to suit his own purpose as if there were shades of difference in their meanings. The same is the case with the names of the fifth and sixth stages (*i.e.*, *عالم امثال* and *عالم مثال*).

The author says that this Being is neither interfused in, nor united with, the creatures, otherwise the plurality of being would follow. Further on, he says that the universe with all that it contains, is accidental while the essence is the only Being. This theory that God is an essence is incompatible with the generally accepted theory of the *Ash'arī* school which maintains that God is neither *Jawhar* (essence) nor *'Arad* (accident).

Then the author describes the three classes of those who believe in pantheism: in the first place, those who know for certain that He is the reality of all creatures but do not see Him in them; secondly, those who see Him in creatures but not *vice versa*; thirdly, those who see Him in them and them in Him. Under the last mentioned class he puts the prophets and the highest saints, technically called *Aqṭāb*.

At the end the author gives in support of pantheism, quotations from the Qur'ān and *Hadith*, some of which may be given here to show what sort of support this theory receives from the Qur'ān and *Hadith*.

A. *Qur'ānic Verses* :—

- (1) لله المشرق والمغرب (God's is the East and the West.)
- (2) فإينما تولوا فثم وجه الله (Wherever you turn (you find) God's face.)
- (3) نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد (We are nearer to Him than His neck vein.)
- (4) وهو معكم أينما كنتم (He is with you wherever you are.)
- (5) هو الأول، الآخر، الظاهر والباطن (He is the first and the last and the manifest and the hidden.)

B. *Hadith* :—

- (١) إن أحدكم إذا قام إلى الصلاة فإنما يناجي ربه فإن ربه بينه وبين القبلة -
(When one of you says his prayer, he certainly whispers with his Lord. Verily his Lord is between him and the *Qiblah*.)
- (٢) ولا يزال عبي يتقرب إلى بالنوافل حتى أحبه فإذا أحبته كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به وبصره الذي يبصر به -

(My servant goes on approaching Me by performing *Naṣāʾil*, i.e., additional prayers, until I begin to love him. And when I love him I become his hearing with which he hears, and his sight with which he sees.)

On the strength of such quotations one is led to doubt the theory that pantheism in Islām is due to external influences. It is quite conceivable that if Islām had been shut off from other contacts, even then this theory of pantheism would have been worked out in Islām.

The importance of this work may be judged from this fact that no less than three authors have written commentaries on it.*

2. Another work of this nature is the '*Aqā'id al-Muwahhidīn* (عقائد الموحدين)', composed by 'Abdu 'l-Karīm b. Muḥammad of Lahore. The author was a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn of Balkh and was a learned Ṣūfī, and belonged to the Chishtī Order. He wrote several treatises on *Tasawwuf*. The present one is on the lines of what may be termed 'Scholastic Mysticism' as it is devoted to the scholastic treatment of the Ṣūfistic creeds. It is divided into nine following chapters:—

- Chapter I. Hypocrisy.
- Chapter II. Apostasy.
- Chapter III. Spiritual leadership.
- Chapter IV. Discipleship.
- Chapter V. Attachment of the disciple with the spiritual leader.
- Chapter VI. Affectation and sincerity.
- Chapter VII. Existence and annihilation.
- Chapter VIII. Recital or recollection (*Dhikr*).
- Chapter IX. Pantheism.

The author is a staunch advocate of pantheism. In support of his belief, he has given a logical argument,

*See Brockelmann's *Geschechte*, II, 418.

which may be mentioned here. He says that God has no limit or end (*Munazzah 'An al-Hadd wa 'l-Nihāyah*), which means that nothing at all is devoid of Him, otherwise it would follow that God is limited up to the boundary of things and that things exist by themselves. He also quotes in support of his theory a *Ḥadīth* which runs as follows:—

كان الله في الأزل ولم يكن معه شيء وهو الآن على ما كان -

(In the beginning (*i.e.*, before the creation of the world) there was nothing with God, and now He is as He was then.)

3. *Anfāsu 'l-Khawāṣṣ* (انفاس الخواص), by Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad, who has already been known to us as the author of the *Tarjamatu 'l-Kitāb*. This work is on the lines of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by the great Sūfī, Ibn 'Arabi, and is divided into 81 sections, called *Anfās* (plu. of *nafas*, meaning 'saying'). Each *nafas* is named after the prophet or the saint, the esoteric interpretation of whose teaching and life it contains. The book begins with *al-Nafas al-Aḥmadī*, named after *al-Ḥaqqīqatu 'l-Aḥmadiyyah* (the reality of Muḥammad). Then follow the *Anfās* of the prophets from Adam, Idris, Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm to the last Prophet Muḥammad and the *Anfās* of the first four Caliphs and then come the *Anfās* of some important saints of various places. The last *nafas* is devoted to the author's own spiritual leader Abū Sa'īd b. Nūr b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu 'l-Quddūs. Each *nafas* begins with the saying of the prophet or the saint after whom it is named. In the case of the prophets, their sayings are those which occur in the *Qur'ān*, for instance, the *nafas* of Adam begins with *قال أبو البشر آدم صفي الله ربنا ظلمنا أنفسنا*, that of Idris with *قال إدريس عليه السلام سبحان الله والحمد لله ولا إله إلا الله الخ* and that of Nūḥ with *قال نوح لقومه يا قوم أعبدوا الله ماله من إله الخ*.

The whole book, like the *Fuṣūṣ*, is full of mystical discussions and theosophical speculations and advocates the doctrine of *Wahdatu 'l-Wujūd* (pantheism).

4. • *Al-Taswīyah* or fully entitled *al-Taswīyah bayn al-Ifādah wa 'l-Qabūl* (التسوية بين الإفادة والقبول), composed by the same author. It is a small but very philosophical treatise, in which the author has tried to prove that ليس الممكن غير الواجب تعالى, that is to say, the creature is not other than God. Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī, a well-known philosopher of India and a contemporary of Muḥibb Allāh, thought it worthwhile to write a treatise in the refutation of the *Taswīyah*. This refutation was, in its turn, refuted by one of Muḥibb Allāh's disciples, named Ḥabīb Allāh.* The importance of *al-Taswīyah* may also be judged from this fact that several commentaries have been written on it. One of the commentators is no less than Amān Allāh of Benares, the well-known class-fellow of Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār. Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Ḥalīm of Lucknow has also written glosses on it.

5. *Al-Maghālīṭ al-ʿĀmmah* (المغالطات العامة), by the same author. It is a huge book consisting of a long introduction and 164 sections called *Maghālīṭ* (plu. of *Maghlaṭah*, fallacy). The introduction is by itself a treatise, entitled *Iʿānatu 'l-Fkhwān* (إعانة الإخوان), containing 15 chapters. The author says that when he explained his Sūfīistic ideas and beliefs to the people, they requested him to expel the fallacies committed by those who are ignorant of the real truth, and so he wrote this book.

6. *'Aqā'idu 'l-Khawāṣṣ* (عقائد الخواص), by the same author. This book, as suggested by its very title, describes the beliefs of learned men and Sūfis. It is divided into 21 sections called *Daqā'iq* (plu. of *Daqīqah*, meaning

*Both these polemic works are in the possession of the present representative of Mawlānā Muḥibb Allāh's house.

'point'). They contain the Sūfiistic and esoteric interpretation and exposition of some religious topics such as God, His attribute, religious responsibility, reward and punishment, commands and prohibitions, human actions, Divine Will, prophetic office, angels, bodily resurrection, the essence of Faith, retribution, mercy, torture in the grave, Imāmat (Caliphate), etc. The author has suggested that because of the *Daqā'iq* that it contains, the book may also be entitled *Daqā'iqu 'l-'Urafā*.

III. Sūfiistic Poetry : One Book.

It is *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā ila Tarīq al-Awliyā'* (هداية الذكياء الى طريق الاولياء), composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Ma'barī, the grandfather of Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, whom we have known in the previous chapter. This poem was much appreciated and was copiously commented upon by two scholars : one Aḥū Bakr Makki and the other Nawawī of Jāvā. Both those commentaries have been published. One of these commentators states that the cause of the composition of this poem is that the author was hesitating whether he should choose the study of theology or that of Sūfiism. While he was asleep one night, he saw in a dream a man who told him that *Taṣawwuf* was to be preferred. The next morning he composed this poem, consisting of one hundred and eighty couplets. This poem is in the form of a *Qaṣīdah*, the metre being *al-Baḥr al-Kāmil* and the letter *Alif* being *Ḥarf Rawī*.

The author after the usual *Hamd* and *Ṣalāt*, says that piety is the basis of true happiness and felicity. Then he explains that the true path to the goal consists of *Sharī'ah*, *Tarīqah* and *Ḥaqīqah*, and explains this doctrine by an allegory. *Sharī'ah*, says he, is like a boat, *Tarīqah*, like an ocean, and *Ḥaqīqah*, like the precious pearl. Whosoever aspires after the pearl, must embark on the boat (*Sharī'ah*) and then dive into the ocean (*Tarīqah*). He then explains

various virtues, such as repentance, contentment, sincerity, resignation, abstinence and so forth, which, says he, are essential for attaining to *Ḥaqīqah*. Here are given some beginning couplets to indicate the style of the poem :—

الحمد لله الموفق للعلا	حمداً يوافي برة المآكاملا
ثم الصلوة علي الرسول المصطفى	والا مع صاحب واتباع الولا
تقوى الله مدار كل سعادة	وتباع أهوا رأس شر هائل
أن الطريق شريعة وطريقة	وحقيقة ناسم لها ما مثلا
فشريعة كسفينة وطريقة	كالبحر ثم حقيقة در غلا
فشريعة اخذ بدين الخالق	وقيامه بالاموال النفي أنجلا
وطريقة اخذ بالحوط كالورع	وعزيمة كرياضة مبتدلا
وحقيقة لوصوله للمقصد	ومشاهد نور التجلي بانجلا
من رام درا السفينة يركب	ويغوص بحرأ ثم درا حصلا
فذا الطريقة والحقيقة يا أخى	من غير فعل شريعة أن تحملا
من رام أن يسلك طريق الالها	فليحفظان هذى الوصايا عاملا

IV. *Methods and Practices of Sūfism : Two Works.*

1. *Al-Jawāhir al-Khamsah*, (الجواهر الخمسة), originally composed in Persian by Muḥammad b. *Khaṭir al-Dīn*, generally known as the *Ghawth* of *Gawaliyār*, and rendered into Arabic by a disciple of the second generation, *Şibghat Allāh* of *Barwaj* (in *Gujarāt*).*

*Dr. Loth, the author of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library, has incorrectly described it as the work of the original author himself. The translator, while giving the pedigree of the author, remarks :—"He is the spiritual leader of *Wajih al-Dīn* of whom I am a disciple." This clearly shows that "I," the translator, and "he," the author, are two different persons. Loth infers from this passage that it was copied by the author's disciple, and so he thinks that this remark was by the scribe who copied it. This inference is incorrect. Another MS. of this work, in the Berlin Library, written in a different hand, contains the same passage—which shows that it was not added by the scribe but by the translator. Besides this, Azād and others have mentioned *Sibghat Allāh* as the *Mu'arrib* (translator into Arabic) of the work in question.

This work is divided into five sections styled *Jawāhir*, which represent the gradual progress of the Ṣūfi. The first section deals with the different methods and practices of devotional worship. The second dwells upon the higher forms of devotion. The third section is the most important, and deals with special kinds of ritual practice in connection with the ninety-nine names of God. It is very technical and can be understood only by those who are acquainted with this branch of Ṣūfiistic literature, as well as with astrology, for astrological considerations are here mentioned side by side with the ritual practices—a fact which may be attributed to Indian influence upon Islamic mysticism, though properly speaking there is no connection between astrology and Ṣūfiism. These practices are shown to have some connections with the movements of the stars and so forth. For instance, a particular practice is said to be effective only when it is done at the time of a particular star being in a particular position.

The fourth section contains the spiritual exercises and practices of the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* order, to which the author belonged. The fifth section deals with the merits and excellences of those who seek after the Real and the True.

2. *Al-Risālah fī Sulūk Khulāṣat al-Sādāt al-Naqshbandiyyah* (الرساله في سلوك خلاصة السادات النقشبندية), composed by Tāj al-Dīn Zakariyyā (1050/1640), who was the author of several treatises on Ṣūfiism. He also translated into Arabic Jāmi's *Nafahāt* and Wā'iz Kāshifi's *Rushahūt*.

In the first chapter the author gives the pedigree of the Naqshbandi order, to which he was attached. Then he says that just as a physical issue is impossible without a father, similarly a spiritual production is not feasible without a spiritual leader. He says : من لا شيخ له فالشیطان شیخته (Whosoever has no spiritual leader, finds a leader in Satan). In the second chapter he explains how union with God may be attained, for which purpose he suggests

only two ways: either by constantly keeping the company of saints or by *Dhikr* (rendered as "recollection" by Professor Nicholson). Then he describes the ways and practices of "recollection" of the Naqshbandī order. The most important of these practices is that of inhaling and exhaling, after closing the eyes and pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate, mentally repeating the phrase "إله إلا الله" in such a way as to begin it with inhaling and to finish it with exhaling.

The value of this work may be recognised from the fact that 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī (1143/1730) has written an exhaustive commentary on it, under the title of *Miftāḥ al-Ma'īyyah fī al-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyyah* (مفتاح المعية في الطريق النقشبندية).

V. Revelations : Sūfistic utterances : One Work.

One of the works containing the inspired sayings of the Sūfis deserves mention, viz., the *Mulhamāt* (ملهمات) by Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī, the great-grand disciple of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, who is held to be the king of all the Indian saints. The author was a descendant of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and a great Sūfī in his age. He was the founder of a sub-branch, named after him, of the Chishtī order. His sayings are beautiful and inspiring, both in language and in spirit. Two passages may be given here :

طالب الدنيا جاهل	طالب العقبى عاقل	طالب المولى كامل
طالب الدنيا مودود	طالب العقبى معبود	طالب المولى معمود
طالب الدنيا مغرور	طالب العقبى مسرور	طالب المولى منهور
طالب الدنيا مغبون	طالب العقبى ممنون	طالب المولى مامون
طالب الدنيا هالك	طالب العقبى سالک	طالب المولى مالک
طالب الدنيا ذليل	طالب العقبى جليل	طالب المولى خليل (الخ)

(The seeker after the world is ignorant, the seeker after the next world is wise, and the seeker after God is victorious, etc., etc.)

No translation can reproduce the beauty of the text.

In the other passage he explains the full significance of a real *Faqīr* (mendicant). He has put together all conceivable virtues, for which it is difficult to find English equivalents. It runs as follows:—

الفقر خلق شريف يتولد منه الصلاح والعفة والزهد والورع والتقوى والطاعة والعبادة والجوع والفاقة والمسكنة والقناعة والمروءة والقوة والديانة والصيانة والإمانه والسير والتجديد والخضوع والخشوع والتذلل والتواضع والتحمل والكظم والعفو والإعاض والشفاق والاتفاق والإيثار - والإطعام والإكرام والإحسان والعراض والإخلاص والانقطاع والانفصال والصدق والصبر والسكون والعلم والرضاء والبذل والجود والسخارة والخوف والرجاء والرياضة والمجاهدة والمراقبة والمواظقة والمواظفة والدوامه والمعامله والتوجيد والمتهذيب والتجويد والتفريد والوقار والعدارة والعنايه والرعايه والشفقة والشفاعه واللطف والكرم والتفقد والشكر والفكر والذكر والحرمة والادب والاعتصام والاحترام والطلب والرغبة والغيرة والعبارة والبصيرة واليقظة والحكمة والهمة والمعرفة والحقيقة والخدمة والتسليم والتفويض والتوكل والتبذل واليقين والعفة والعناء والاستقامة وحسن الخلق وكل تغيير جدد فيه هذا الصفات سمي فقيراً

كاملًا وإذا فقد لم يسم فقيراً -

The following sayings of the same author are worth notice :—

(a) The essence of prayers :—

الصلوة - كالجسد و الحضور كالروح وكل صلوة ليس فيها الحضور ليس فيها الروح -

“Prayers are like a body and presence of mind is like the soul, and prayers which are devoid of presence of mind are like body without soul.”

(b) Significance of *Dhikr* (recollection) :—

الذكر ثلثة احرف الذال و الكاف و الراء • ذالذال عبارة عن الذكاء و الكاف
عبارة عن التيسر و الراء عبارة عن الرقة فمن ذكر المولى اصاب ذكي القلب و كئيس النفس
و صاحب الرقة -

“The word *Dhikr* consists of three letters, *Dhāl*, *Kāf* and *Rā*.’ The first letter stands for *Dhakā* (brightness), the second for *Kiyāsah* (sagacity), and the last for *Riqqah*

(tenderness, mercy). So whosoever recollects Master (*i.e.*, God) becomes bright-hearted, sagacious-minded and compassionate.

(c) The difference between a religious devotee (*Zāhid*) and a gnostic (*ʿArif*):—

و العارف يطهر باطنه من الدوي	و العارف تارك العقبى للمولى	و العارف بلغ المنزل و ترك الرحيل	و العارف يطهر ظاهره بالماء	و العارف تارك الدنيا للعقبى	و العارف يقطع السبيل
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“The devotee keeps his exterior clean with water and the gnostic keeps his interior clean from passions. The devotee renounces this world for the next, and the gnostic renounces even the next world for God. The devotee is still traversing the path, while the gnostic has already reached the destination and has given up departure.”

(d) The characteristics of a gnostic:—

- حرفة العارف ستة الاشياء:—
- ١ - اذا ذكر الله انتخز
 - ٢ - اذا ذكر نفسه احتقر
 - ٣ - اذا نظر في آيات الله اعتبر
 - ٤ - اذا سمع بمصيبة او شبهة انزعج
 - ٥ - اذا ذكر الله استبشر
 - ٦ - اذا ذكر ذنوبه استغفر

“The profession of a gnostic consists of six things:— (1) he feels proud when he recollects God, (2) he feels humiliated when he thinks of his own self, (3) he takes warning when he looks into the signs of God, (4) he is driven back when he thinks of a sin or a passion, (5) he rejoices when he recollects God, and lastly, (6) he asks forgiveness when he recollects his sins.”

* ذكر الله seems to be a misprint for some other words so that there may be a good contrast between these words and ذكر ذنوبه in the next sentence.

The language is so beautiful that it does not require any remark. The whole book is full of such Ṣūfiistic aphorisms, sublime in ideas and sweet in expression.

VI. Collections of Moral Aphorisms: *Ṭipō Works.*

1. *Jawāmi' al-Kilām fi al-Mawā'iz al-Ḥikam* (جامع الكلم، نى مؤاخذات), by 'Alī Muttāqī Burhānpurī, mentioned several times in the preceding pages. The author states that this collection consists of about three thousand aphorisms, of which five hundred are *Iqtibāsāt*, i.e., quotations from the Qur'ān; five hundred *Taḍmīnāt*, that is, *Ḥadīth*, which on account of their conciseness are preceded by introductory and explanatory phrases rhymed with them; three hundred sentences of Ibn 'Aṭā' Iskandari (709/1309); one hundred of his disciple, and the rest are the sayings of some early authors (*Mutaqaddimūn*).

These materials which invariably follow in the order above mentioned, are described under some eighty headings, arranged alphabetically as *Bāb fi al-Īmān* and *Bāb fi al-Iḥsān* and so forth. As to the general character of the work, it may be said that it is of interest to those only who are *Ḥuffāz*, *Mufasssīrūn* and *Muḥaddithūn* and are, at the same time, interested in Ṣūfiism, as the author himself points out in his introduction.

2. The other work of this type is *Mawārid al-Kilām wa Silk Durar al-Ḥikam* (موايد الكلم و سلك درر الكلم), by the famous Persian poet of India, Abd 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī, the author of the *Sawāṭi' al-Iḥām*. This book is in the same style as that in which he wrote his commentary on the Qur'ān, that is to say, it is devoid of dotted letters just as the very title of the book is. The author has collected his material from the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth*, and similar sources, and has reproduced them in his own way, in order to avoid dotted letters. Some people think that Fayḍī was a *Shī'ah*; but in this very book he has

highly praised the first four Caliphs in two places, in the beginning and also in the main portion under the heading *Māṣir al-Ruḥamā'*. He uses the word *Ruḥamā'* for *Aṣḥāb* to avoid dotted letters. These are the words he has employed for them in the beginning :—

اول الرحماء من اسلامنا و اكرهم اكراماً صبر رسول الله صلعم و اعداءهم عمر المتكبر
و احبهم مهاد كلام الله و مؤسس السور واعلمهم ولد عمه اسد الله الكرار —

After these words who will doubt his being a Sunnī. The value of this work lies in its style rather than in the subject-matter, and so it will be further described later on along with books of literary prose.

VII. Commentaries on the works written outside India: Two.

The Ṣūfīstic philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī has found in India many supporters. Several Indian scholars have written commentaries on his famous work *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, as will be clear from the perusal of the appendix. Of these Indian commentators, 'Alī Mahā'mī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad were scholars of repute. The latter was, as we have already seen, an eminent advocate of the theory of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* and a great admirer and exponent of Ibn 'Arabī's mystic philosophy. 'Alī's commentary is not known to be still in existence. The other commentary, entitled *Tajliyat al-Fuṣūṣ* (تجليات الفصوص), is in the possession of one of the commentator's descendants who is the present representative of his order at Allahabad. Apart from these two commentaries, there is another in the India Office Library, which may be reviewed here. The title of this commentary is *Ḥall Mu'dalāt al-Fuṣūṣ* (حل معضلات الفصوص) and the name of the commentator is Amīrullāh b. Munīr Allāh of Bihār. It is not copious, as it explains only some obscure and objectionable passages in the text. One or two of his explanations may be given here.

Ibn 'Arabī in his book says that man is to God what the pupil is to the eye which sees, and that this is the reason why *Insān* (man) is so called. The objection to this statement is that it means that man is an instrument for the sight of God; and this is *Kufr* (heathenism). The commentator offers the following solution. It is admitted that man is the only purpose of the creation of this world. Hence man is the ultimate purpose of God's sight, just as a pupil is the ultimate purpose of the eye. At the most this inconsistency remains that in the case of the eye, the pupil is the efficient cause (*'Illat-i-Fā'ilah*), while in the other, it is the final purpose (*'Illat-i-Ghā'iyyah*). Another objection brought against this same statement is that from Ibn 'Arabī's definition of man, it follows that the world is eternal. The commentator replies that man is *'Hādith* (i.e., coming into existence in time) in consideration of his actual existence, but eternal in consideration of his being present in the knowledge of God before his existence. The latter is what Ibn 'Arabī means.

2. *Ithāf al-Sādāt al-Muttaqīn bi Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (اتحاد السادات المتقين بشرح احياء علوم الدين), a commentary on al-Ghahzālī's *Iḥyā'*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā. The commentator was a native of Bilgrām, who after receiving his education from eminent scholars like Shāh Wali Allāh and others, went to the Hijāz for further studies. He stayed for a long time at Zabīd, after which he began to be called "Zabīdī." From Zabīd he went to Cairo, where he died in 1205/1790. He was an eminent theologian and philologist of his period. He was the author of many works, of which *Tāj al-'Arūs*, *'Uqūd al-Jawāhir al-Munīfah* (in support of the *Ḥanafī* school), and the work under consideration are the most important. This work has been published in thirteen volumes, litho-graphed in the Maghribī script. In the beginning, the commentator, unlike other commentators, has devoted a considerable space to a full critical account of

al-Ghazālī and his works. While commenting on the text, he fully discusses both sides of all the problems and traces out the chain of the narrators of all the *Ḥadīth* given by the original author. Just as the *Tāj al-ʿArūs* is a copious and important commentary on the *Qāmūs*, similarly the present work is a useful and illuminative commentary on the *Iḥyā*. These two great works bear testimony to Murtadā's vast knowledge and wonderful learning. India may reasonably be proud of these contributions made to Arabic literature.

VIII. Lawfulness of *Samāʿ* (Music): Three Books.

Whether *Samāʿ* is lawful or not is a controversial problem. Some theologians allow it, while others do not; much has been written on this topic outside and inside India. Here three works, representing three different views, may be considered.

1. *Jadd al-Ghanāʾ fi Ḥurmat al-Ghīnāʾ* (جد الغناء في حرمة الغيتار), composed by ʿIṣmāt Allāh Sahāranpūrī, (d. after 1090/1679),* who, besides being a theologian, was a mathematician also. His commentary on the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* is far more valuable than the present work. He holds that *Samāʿ* is unlawful according to the Qurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, judgments of jurists and the sayings of the saints and scholars. He mentions all these authorities in various chapters. He says that the so-called *Samāʿ* did not exist during the first three

* The first half of the title of the book under review (i.e., جد الغناء) is, as mentioned in the introduction, chronogrammatic, indicating the date of its composition as 1090 A.H. (1679). All the books containing a biographical note of his give the date of his death as 1039 A.H. (1629) which is obviously wrong. Most likely it is 1093 and the figure 93 became 39 by an oversight of the first recorder of the date, who, as far as known to the present writer, is Ghulām ʿAlī Azād. Subsequent writers have only copied the date he mentioned without verifying it.

centuries. It crept into Islām at a later period. At the end he refutes all the arguments of the opposite school.

2. *Kashf al-Qinā‘ ‘an Ibāhat al-Samū‘* (كشف القناع عن إباحة السمع), by Salām Allāh b. Shaykh al-Islām, whom we have known as the author of glosses on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and the *Muwattā*. This work represents the opposite opinion on *Samū‘*. It is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains *Ḥadīth*; the second, *Āthār*; the third, *Qiyās*; the fourth, the sayings of jurists; and the fifth, the refutation of the arguments of the opposite party.

3. The third book is a small tract on this topic by ‘Isā b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm of Gujarāt. This author takes a moderate view between the two extremes and advises his readers to take the safest course which lies in not indulging in music so far as action is concerned, and in not believing in its unlawfulness so far as theory is concerned.

IX. The Formulæ for invoking God's blessings on the Prophet: Two Books.

As *Ṣalāt*, prayers for the Prophet, plays an important part in *Ṭarīqah* (the ‘path’), works on this topic may be included within the scope of Ṣūfīistic literature; and so two such works are reviewed here. Both are by the same writer, Muḥammad ‘Alī of Ghīyāthpūr, who is comparatively a modern scholar.

The first work is entitled *Nāṣir al-‘Ushshāq* (ناصر العشاق) and contains hundreds of the formulæ for invoking God's blessings upon the Prophet. The author has arranged them under twenty headings, such as parts of his body, his attributes, his garments, his furniture and so forth. The formula, for instance, runs :—

اللهم صل وسلم على محمد و علي قد محمد في القداد

“O God, send Thy blessings and peace on Muḥammad and on the stature of Muḥammad among all the statures.”

In this formula only two words are changing throughout: one is that which is preceded by the second 'Alā, and the other is that which follows the preposition *Fi*; and the rest of the formula remains unchanged, for instance, the next formula runs:—

اللهم صل على محمد وعلى بدن محمد في الابدان

“O God send Thy blessings and peace on Muḥammad and the body of Muḥammad among all the bodies.”

Here are some more examples:—

اللهم	صل	وسلم	على	محمد و	على	ذات	محمد	في	الذوات
”	”	”	”	”	”	وصف	”	”	في
”	”	”	”	”	”	نعت	”	”	في
”	”	”	”	”	”	صدر	”	”	في
”	”	”	”	”	”	دم	”	”	في
”	”	”	”	”	”	ثوب	”	”	في
”	”	”	”	”	”	سرير	”	”	في

This work may be equally taken to serve as a short philological treatise containing words with their broken forms of plural (جمع مكسر) for many things connected and associated with a human being.

The other work is entitled *al-Salām al-Mu'arrā* (السلام المعرا) and contains formulæ of *Ṣalāt*, composed of undotted letters only, just as the very title of the book is devoid of dotted letters. The book begins with a brief introduction composed of undotted letters. The *Ṣalāt* runs as follows:—

اللهم صل وسلم على محمد و امام الهدى
اللهم صل وسلم على محمد صدرة مطلع الهدى

In these formulæ only the last phrase following the word *Muḥammad* changes.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY

Having dealt so far with those branches of Arabic literature which are exclusively theological and religious, I now turn to that department of Islamic studies which lies midway between religion and philosophy—a department which is a connecting link between the aforesaid two opposite systems of human thought and knowledge: I mean Scholastic Theology, which may, with equal force and significance, be called Philosophical Theology or Theological Philosophy.

Just as there is more than one theory as to the derivation of the term *Taṣawwuf*, similarly there is more than one explanation offered for the origin of the technical term *ʿIlm al-Kalām*. But just as in the former case there is only one convincing theory (*i.e.*, the derivation of *Taṣawwuf* from the word *Ṣūf*), so in the latter case the only correct explanation is that in the earlier days of Islām when Greek philosophy and Islamic doctrines came into contact with each other, Muslim writers used to discuss philosophical problems under the heading *al-Kalām fī Kadhā*, which way of putting the heading became so common that in course of time it gave the name *al-Kalām* to that science itself which confines its investigations to the philosophical discussion of the theological doctrines.

After this introductory remark, let us see what India has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

Of the numerous works produced in India, twelve deserve mention. They fall under the following heads :—

- I. Commentaries on the standard text-books on the Islamic dogmas ... 2 Works.

II.	Text-books on the Islamic dogmas ...	2	Works.
III.	Commentaries on the standard text-		
	books on Scholastic Theology ...	2	„
IV.	Text-books on the same ...	2	„
V.	Books on Sectarian Controversies ...	3	„
VI.	Scholastic Explanations of the Islamic		
	<i>Aḥkām</i> (Injunctions) ...	1	„
	TOTAL ...	12	

*I. Commentaries on the Standard Books on the
Islamic Dogmas: Two Works.*

Outside India many text-books on this topic have been written, of which two are, perhaps, the best known: One is *al-‘Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* (العقائد النصفية), composed by Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (534/1139), and the other, *al-‘Aqā'id al-Adudiyyah* (العقائد الادوية) of Qāḍī ‘Adud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī (756/1355). On the former, Sa’d al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (791/1389) and on the latter, another famous writer, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa’d Allāh al-Dawwānī (907/1501) have written commentaries. Both these texts with their commentaries are widely read, and many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on these commentaries by scholars of later periods. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, whom we have met in connection with several books, has written super commentaries on both the aforesaid commentaries.

In the case of *al-‘Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah*, his glosses are not directly on Taftāzānī’s commentary but on Mawlā Aḥmad b. Mūsā Khayālī’s (860/1456) well-known super-commentary upon which glosses have been composed by several writers. The value of these Indian glosses may be judged from this remark of Ḥājji Khalīfah: *وهي احسن العواشي مقبولة عند العلماء* (It is the best of all the glosses and accepted among the learned.)

In the case of the *al-‘Aqā'id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm’s glosses are directly upon the first commentary on it by Dawwānī. These glosses are also copious and worthy of the author. But Ḥajjī Khalifah does not mention them.

II. Text-books on Dogmas : Two Works.

1. *Al-‘Aqā'id al-Ḥasanah* (العقيدة الحسنة), composed by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī. This is a small tract comprising all the important and essential formulæ of the Sunni creeds and dogmas. The present work is not a mere imitation or reproduction of previous works of the same character. It is composed independently of them and is a sort of digest of Sunni dogmatics. The creeds being the same, the difference lies in the arrangement and exposition and slightly in principles also. Shāh Walī Allāh’s work is more lucid and less technical and philosophical than the ‘*Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* and the ‘*Aqā'id al-‘Aḍudiyyah*. It is briefer also. The beginnings of both the last-mentioned ‘*Aqā'id*s are philosophical. They start with the various ways of acquiring knowledge and with the *Hudūth* of the world. They say : *إلى العالم بجميع أجزائه محدث* (i.e., the world with all its parts is a thing created) and then by a logical syllogism conclude that for the created there must be a creator. Shāh Walī Allāh, on the other hand, commences his treatise in a rather sentimental way, saying :

أشهد الله ومن حضر من الملائكة والجن والإنس أني أعتقد من صميم قلبي
أن للعالم مانعاً قديماً

(I call upon God and those who are present from amongst angels, genii and men to bear witness that I believe from the core of my heart that for the world there is a Creator eternal . . .)

He asserts from the outset that there is a Maker of the world who is such and such. While mentioning all the

attributes of God, he distinguishes between the ultimate and the immediate causes by saying that none but God cures the ill, none but He gives bread—in this sense that He says to a thing non-existing, *Kun* (come into existence) and it comes at once into existence, and not in the sense in which we say that a physician has cured a patient.

With regard to the Caliphate, all of them are in agreement as to the rightfulness of the first four Caliphs and to their order of succession, but there is a little difference as regards the *Afdaliyyat* (superiority) of the Caliphs to one another. Nasafi holds that the order of superiority follows that of their succession. Shāh Wali Allāh says : افضل الناس بعد رسول الله ابو بكر ثم عمر (The best of the men after the Prophet is Abū Bakr and then 'Umar), and does not go further, and says nothing about 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The fact is that the superiority of 'Uthmān to 'Alī is not so evident and certain as that of the first two over the last two, and so there is a controversy as to whether 'Uthmān or 'Alī is to have preference over the other. Shāh Wali Allāh has mentioned the most reliable part of the creed and has left the doubtful part untouched. The question of *Afdaliyyat* is so vital to Shāh Wali Allāh that he thought it necessary to explain what he meant by *Afdaliyyat*. He says : "We do not mean 'superiority' from every point of view, including lineage and bravery, etc., but on the other hand we take it from the standpoint of utility to Islām, that is to say, *Afdal* means one who has been most useful and serviceable to Islām."

2. The other work of the nature under consideration is *Mizān al-Aqā'id* (ميزان العقائد), written by Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz, son of Shāh Wali Allāh. Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz was a distinguished scholar, and the author of several works. He died in 1139/1726. The present work is brief but at the same time comprehensive. It has been written after the old fashion of composing a concise text-

book requiring a long array of commentaries and glosses. It is so condensed that even the author himself has written a commentary on it. So this text is followed by a commentary on it by the same writer. It is divided into three sections. The first section deals with beliefs about God, the second with matters relating to prophets, and the third contains eschatological discussions. While adopting a theory mid-way between *Jabr* (Determinism or Fatalism) and *Qadr* (Indeterminism or free will), he has given an interesting instance illustrating thereby the Ash'arite theory of fate and free will. He says that a man has got freedom as to his actions: he may sit down or stand up; may sleep or remain awake as he chooses, but لا اختيار له في ذلك الاختيار (he has no further choice in this choice).. A man may not intend throwing a stone but when he has actually applied any amount of force in throwing it, he is unable to check the necessary consequences.

III. Commentaries on the Standard Books on Scholastic Theology Proper: Two Works.

'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (756/1355) book on *ʿIlm al-Kalām*, entitled *Mawāqif*, is one of the best Arabic text-books, upon which the distinguished scholar Sayyid Sharif 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jurjānī (816/1413) has written a commentary, known as *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, which like the commentaries on the *'Aqā'id* has served as the basis of a large number of super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses.

The first Indian scholar to write a super-commentary was 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot whose name and fame as a commentator is a sufficient guarantee for the merit of this commentary.

The other Indian scholar who wrote another super-commentary on the same work is Mir Zāhid (1101/1689), a distinguished author of high philosophical attainments, who enjoyed the patronage of Awrangzib and held the

responsible post of *Ṣadr* at Kābul. Of his super-commentary, the portion relating to the second *Mawqif* (section) on *al-Umūr al-Āmmah* has held so high a position in the ranks of scholastic literature in India that from the time of the author up to quite recent times it has been almost a fashion for each philosophical scholar to write glosses on it. Some idea of these glosses may be gained from the list given in the appendix.

IV. Text-books on Scholastic Theology: Two Works.

1. *Al-Risālat al-Khāqāniyyah* (الرسالة الخاقانية), also entitled *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (الدُرّ الثمين). It is a tract on the scholastic investigation with regard to the problem of the knowledge of God, composed by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot who dedicated it to his royal patron Shāh-jahān. It is divided into two sections. The first is on God's knowledge, and contains three discussions. The first discussion is *on proving the knowledge of God* (on proving the knowledge of God). He says that God's knowledge is accepted by all except a few ancient philosophers who denied it on the ground that just as the sun radiates its rays without being conscious of so doing, so God is the Creator of all creatures without having any knowledge of them. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm gives to this strange belief of the ancient philosophers a convincing reply, saying that if God is not knowing, then he must be ignorant—a thing which nobody will accept.

Another objection brought by them against the knowledge of God is that knowledge is a relation which presupposes a plurality of things, that is to say, there should be at least two things, viz., one knowing and the other known. If God is knowing, He must know Himself, which means knowledge of Himself, and this is absurd, as knowledge is a relation only conceivable between two things. 'Abu al-Ḥakīm refutes this objection in two ways.

In the first place, *‘Ilm* (knowledge) is not a relation but صفة ذات نسبة (an attribute having relation). Secondly, *‘Ilm* is regarded as a *Nisbah*, even then there is no difficulty, for one thing may be both subjective and objective.

The second discussion relates to the nature of God's knowledge. God's knowledge, says he, is either identified with His Being or is something different. If something different, it either stands by itself or by the personality of God. Ancient philosophers generally hold that God's knowledge is exactly identified with His Personality, while the Ash‘arites believe that it is other than God's Being but is dependent upon it.

The third discussion is confined to the problems concerning the universality of God's knowledge. He holds that God knows both the universal and the particular.

In the second section the author deals with the *Takfīr* (accusing of infidelity) of philosophers. He quotes and explains the opinion of al-Ghazālī who has declared that there are twenty problems in which the philosophers differ from Muslims, out of which the following three problems make them *Kāfir* :—

- (1) Their belief in the eternity of the world ;
- (2) Their denial of the resurrection of the body ;
- (3) Their holding that God knows the universal and not the particular.

This tract is interesting and lucid in its manner of discussing the subject.

2. The next Indian book on *‘Ilm al-Kalām* is *Baḥr al-Madhāhib* (بحر المذاهب), composed by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, entitled Mun‘im Khān of Qannawj, who dedicated it to Awrangzib, to whose court he was attached. This work is on the line of the *Mawāqif*, with this difference, that the *Baḥr al-Madhāhib* covers the scope of the last three sections of the *Mawāqif*. In his introduction,

the author gives a long list of those works by the help of which he has written this book, and explains the technical terms of scholastic theology. As to the rest, it is a reproduction of what the standard books such as the *Mawāqif* and its commentary contain, with some additional problems not dealt with by the *Mawāqif*. The style is easier and less complicated than that of the *Mawāqif* and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It may advantageously be read as an introduction to scholastic theology.

V. *Sectarian Controversies: Three Works.*

1. *Al-Muqaddimat al-Saniyyah fī Intiṣār al-Firqat al-Sunniyyah* (المقدمة السنية في انتصار الفرقة السنية), originally composed in Persian by Shaykh Aḥmad Fāruqī entitled "*Mujaddid-i Alf-i-Thānī*", one of the greatest Ṣūfis India ever produced, and translated into Arabic by a great Indian theologian of equal eminence, Shāh Walī Allāh, at the request of the scholars of the Hijāz when the translator, in the course of a talk on the Sunnī and Shī'ite controversies, referred to the original text.

The learned translator did not confine himself to a mere translation but has also added useful explanatory and critical notes here and there—which fact has made the work still more valuable. He has also differed in several places from the original author, and has pointed out his mistakes. Shāh Walī Allāh has given a critical account of the author's merits and attainments and of the services he rendered to the cause of bridging over the gulf between Ṣūfism and orthodoxy. The translator, while criticising the heretical characteristics of the time of Akbar and his son, Jahāngīr, remarks that it is curious to note that just as this period of Indian history produced a good deal of heresy and irreligiousness, on the other hand it turned out a large number of Ṣūfis and learned men, of whom he has

given a short list. Among the former (Sūfis), he mentions Khawājah Muḥammad Bāqī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Quddās, Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior, and Shaykh Aḥmad, and among the latter (learned men) he gives the names of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, ‘Abd al-Nabī, Makhdūm al-Mulk, and Mullā ‘Abd al-Qādir Badā’ūnī. This treatise, Arabicised and enlarged, has been further annotated by the translator’s son, Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who in his turn differs in places from his father and agrees with the original author.

2. Another work of exactly the same nature is the *Radd al-Shī‘ah* (رد الشيعه) by Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin who was one of the eminent scholars of Kashmīr and well versed in philosophy and theology. He died in 1191/1777. This work is one of the best books ever written on the Sunnī and Shī‘ī controversies from the Sunnī standpoint. Some of the arguments contained in the book may be given here.

A.—Had ‘Alī been a *Ma‘ṣūm* (infallible) Imām, he would not have committed errors in giving Fatwās. Here the author enumerates some of his errors, one of which is that he allowed the sale of *Umm Walad* (a woman slave who has given birth to a child).

B.—Some of those *Ṣaḥābah* and *Tābi‘ūn* who were among his party did not agree with some of his decisions, e.g., when ‘Alī ordered some of the Khārijites to be burnt, Ibn ‘Abbās remarked “I would not have done that, had I been in his place.”

C.—Had he been a *Manṣūb* (Divinely appointed) Imām, the Prophet would not have asked Abū Bakr to lead the prayers during his illness.

D.—If he was the rightful successor, why did he not take allegiance from ‘Abbās and Abū Sufyān, who were ready to give it?

E.—Supposing Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were usurpers, was it not unlawful for a *Manṣūb* Imām to co-operate with

them, to share the booty, and to enjoy other privileges? Why did he acknowledge them as Caliphs? He should have gone to some other country, as did Sa'd who did not swear allegiance to them but migrated to Syria. Even a humble Ṣaḥābī such as Bilāl did not recognise them. Why did 'Alī, so well-known for bravery and valour, fear them? If he practised *Taqiyyah* (pious fraud or subterfuge), why did not Ḥusayn do the same? One of them must be wrong.

F.—Had he been a *Manṣūb* Imām, he would not have consented to be a member of the council appointed by 'Umar to select his successor from amongst them, because the appointment of this council clearly implies that there was no *Manṣūb* Imām. When 'Alī agreed to be a member of it, he *ipso facto* accepted the underlying principle of the council.

G.—Just as a prophet cannot abandon his claim to be such, similarly a *Manṣūb* Imām cannot do so.

H.—If he had positive proofs (*Nuṣūṣ*) for his being a *Manṣūb* Imām, he would certainly have shown them to the people.

I.—If 'Umar was an usurper and so *Mardūd* (rejected), why did 'Alī marry his daughter to him?

3. Several books have been written in India on this topic from the Shī'ī standpoint, but the present writer has failed to find any except one representing the Shī'ī view, not, however, dealing with the Shī'ī and Sunni controversies but with Sūfiism. It is *al-Shihāb al-Thāqib* (الشهاب الثاقب) by Sayyid Dildār 'Alī who was a Shī'ī *Mujtahid* and a distinguished scholar in his time, and the author of several books. He died in 1235/1819. The present book was written in refutation and rejection of Sūfiism. It contains an introduction and four sections called *Maqṣad* (plu. *Maqāṣid*) of various lengths, being further divided into chapters and sub-chapters, almost

according to the same plan as that adopted in the *Mawāqif*.

In the introduction the author confines himself to the discussion of the thesis that existence is a self-evident truth which requires no further proof.

The first *Maqṣad*, divided into eight chapters, deals with problems concerning the unity and plurality of existence and the Being of God. The author repudiates the pantheistic theory of the *Ṣūfis*. This section is wholly scholastic and philosophical. The second *Maqṣad*, divided into six chapters, is devoted to the traditional treatment of the question. The third *Maqṣad* with its seven chapters dwells upon *Kaṣhḥ* (revelation), one full chapter, further divided into eleven sub-chapters, is confined to finding fault with eleven eminent *Ṣūfis*, Ibn 'Arabī, Ḥasan. Baṣrī, Abū Sufyān Thawrī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Faḥīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, and Ḥakīm Sanā'ī.

His whole argument is that if they had been real saints they would not have committed blunders and follies.

The fourth *Maqṣad* is comparatively short and is a sort of an apology for a doubt or objection that may be raised against his theory that if *Kaṣhḥ* had been something true and real, there would have been no difference in such revealed matters. The objection brought against this theory is that such differences are possible in the process of thinking also, to which he replies that in thinking there is still some standard or criterion to which one may refer, but in *Kaṣhḥ* even such a standard is not possible.

The chief aim of the book is to refute the theory of *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, in doing which he may be successful, but by the way it refutes *Ṣūfism* also. In this respect, it is a

failure. The author has succeeded in proving neither by traditions nor by reason the absurdity of Ṣūfiism. His chief point against these eleven Ṣūfis whom he has condemned is that they were not Shī'ah and so cannot be right. Among them the author says of Ḥakīm Sanā'i only that according to some he was a Shī'ah. About Hasan Baṣrī he remarks that he has been called the Sāmīri of his age by 'Alī.'

VI. *Scholastic Explanations of the Islamic Commands and Prohibitions: One Work.*

Under this heading one work deserves notice. It is *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة) which has been briefly discussed under the category of books on Ḥadīth. But as this book is rather in the nature of scholastic theology than Ḥadīth, a fuller account may not be out of place here.

Mawlānā Shibli,* one of the great modern Indian critics, puts Shāh Wali Allāh, the author of the book, in the third period of the Islamic scholastic theology, along with two great scholars, Ibn Rushd (595/1198) and Ibn Taymiyyah (728/1327). Shāh Wali Allāh has not written any book exclusively on scholastic theology, and so outwardly it does not seem proper to reckon him among scholastic theologians. But his *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, in which he explains the Islamic injunctions, is in the true spirit of scholastic theology. The object of this Islamic science is to prove the truth of the Islamic faith and religion. Now a religion consists of two parts: beliefs and injunctions. All the books that had been written hitherto on scholastic theology dwelt on the first part of the religion, i.e., beliefs and creeds, and did not touch the other part at all. Shāh Wali Allāh was the first author to write a book on this

*Shibli *‘Ilm al-Kalām* (Introduction).

topic. While mentioning the advantages to be gained from his book, he states in his introduction that just as the Prophet was given the miracle of the Qur'ān, the like of which could never be produced by 'Arabs or nōn-'Arabs, similarly the religion that he was given was also a miracle, because to bring forth a religion which may be perfect in every way is also beyond human power. He states further that just as many books have been written about the Qur'ān being a miracle, similarly there should also be books dealing with the miraculous nature of that religion. Then he adds that there are persons who think that many Islamic injunctions are irrational. For instance, they say that tortures in the grave, the judgment, the bridge, the scale, etc., have nothing to do with rationality. Similarly it may be said that it is absurd that the fasting of the month of Ramadān is incumbent while fasting on the first day of the next month is unlawful. Again, what is related by way of inducements and warnings is also foolish. The author says that in order to meet all these objections and doubts it is necessary to prove the rationality of all these things. These two objectives of his book, that is, to discuss the miraculous nature of the Islamic religion and to prove the rationality of the Islamic injunctions, form the most important part of scholastic theology. This is the reason why the *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah* may be regarded as a treatise on the above-mentioned science.

Those important problems of scholastic theology on which the author has dwelt in his book are as follows :—

1. The reason why man has been created responsible.
2. There is no change or break in God's habit or nature.
3. The reality of the soul.
4. The reality of reward and punishment.
5. The reality of matters relating to the resurrection and the next world.

6. '*Ālam al-Mithāl*.
7. The reality of *Nubuwwat* (Prophecy).
8. The origin of all religions is the same.
9. The reason why God brought religion into existence.
10. The necessity for a religion cancelling all the previous ones.

'*Ālam al-Mithāl* is the most important doctrine of his philosophy. There are many *Hadith* which indicate that in this universe there is another world which is not material and in which things appear before they come into existence in this world. This new world is called '*Ālam al-Mithāl*. He has given many *Hadith* of this type, some of which may be quoted here to show their nature :—

1. The Qur'ānic *Sūrahs al-Baqarah* and *al-Imrān* (II, III) will appear on the day of judgment in the form of a cloud.
2. On the day of judgment, actions will present themselves. The prayers will come first of all, and then almsgiving, and then fasting.
3. I see tumults raining upon your houses.

After mentioning many *Hadith* of this type, he says that about these events there may be three views :

- (1) Either to take them literally; then one has to believe in '*Ālam al-Mithāl* ;
- (2) One may think that they are made to appear like that, while in reality they are not so ; or
- (3) They are to be taken allegorically.

Shāh Walī Allāh does not reckon those who hold the third view among *Ahl al-Haqq*. He has so considerably enlarged the scope of this '*Ālam al-Mithāl* that things such as the Prophet's seeing Gabriel, angels visiting the dead in their graves, etc., have been put in this '*Ālam al-Mithāl*. *Shiblī* remarks that if the author's explanation of these

Ḥadīth be accepted by other theologians, there remains little or no difference between religion and philosophy. But the writer of the present thesis does not agree with the *Shāh* on this point. The first objection is that in order to explain away the irrationality of some statements made in *Ḥadīth*, he has to believe in the existence of a world which is not supported by our ordinary experience; or the argument for the existence of this new world may be said to be arguing in a vicious circle; he believes in '*Ālam al-Mithāl*' because these *Ḥadīth* contain statements which necessitate this belief, and these statements are true because there is an '*Ālam al-Mithāl*'. Secondly, I cannot understand how this *Ḥadīth*, for instance, that *Sūrah al-Baqarah* and *al-Imrān* will appear in the form of a cloud on the day of judgment, can be explained by his theory of '*Ālam al-Mithāl*'. What is the relation between a thing in the '*Ālam al-Mithāl*' and the same thing in the physical world? I mean to say that if the *Sūrah al-Baqarah* and the *Sūrah al-Imrān* are like a cloud in '*Ālam al-Mithāl*', what are they like in the actual world, and what is the relation between the two? I also do not see what objection there is to these *Ḥadīth* being taken allegorically.

This theory of '*Ālam al-Mithāl*' is not altogether a new one. It may be compared to the '*Ālam Ashbāḥ*' of *Shaykh al-Ishrāq Shihāb al-Dīn* and the *Tamthīl-i-Khayālī* of *al-Ghazālī*, according to whom existence is of four kinds: *Dhātī*, *Ḥissī*, *Khayālī*, and '*Aqlī*'.

The literature on Islamic scholastic theology, available in the time of the author and studied by him, consisted of the works of the later *Ash'arites* only. Being a man of somewhat independent thinking and some originality, he generally differed from them in many matters. Some of his own new arguments and explanations may be given here.

1. One of the defects of '*Ilm al-Kalām*' was that it made no attempt to meet the objections raised by the

opponents against the Qur'ān. Books like the *Mawāqif*, etc., deal with the objections regarding the eloquence of the Qur'ān but contain nothing on the objections concerning the subject-matter of the Qur'ān. Some commentators have replied to them, but their answers are not satisfactory. They have, for instance, said in reply to the objection brought against the repetition of matters in the Qur'ān, that the object is to show command over the language. What an absurd reply ! To express one idea in so many ways may be a credit to a human being—to scholars like Hariri and others—but not to God. Shāh Walī Allāh has dealt with this problem in a new way. Teaching, says he, is of two kinds ; one is mere teaching and nothing more, i.e., a teaching the object of which is to let the hearer know what he does not know ; and the other teaching is an efficient one, i.e., to teach a thing in such a way that it is not only brought home to the hearer but it also makes him take great pleasure and delight in it, and this efficient teaching is achieved by repetition of the matter in different expressions.

2. His reply to the objections brought against the Qur'ān of lacking any kind of arrangement or order, has already been mentioned in connection with his book *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*.

3. One of the objections put forward against the Qur'ān is that in many places grammatical rules are broken. His reply is that the ancient Arabs of *al-Jāhiliyyah*, while making speeches, used to employ ungrammatical expressions, but as these ungrammatical expressions were used by genuine Arabs, they were regarded as accurate idioms. The Qur'ān has followed these idioms, which may be ungrammatical, i.e., not agreeing with grammar systematised later on, but not incorrect or unidiomatic.

4. All scholars hitherto have regarded the Qur'ān as a miracle from the standpoint of the elegance of the

style, but it was the Shāh who asserted that the great miracle of the Qur'ān is that its teaching about morals, the purification of the soul, the Oneness of God, the prophetic office, and the next world is beyond human power to conceive.

5. He holds that the universe is subject to a law or laws which are never broken.

6. About miracles he says that they are matters produced by natural causes, the only difference between them and ordinary events being that in the former case perfection is predominant. Contrary to the Ash'arites, he holds that miracles and the acceptance of prayers by God and the like are outside the reality of the prophetic office, although they are associated with it in most cases.

CHAPTER VII

PHILOSOPHY

Having dealt with the contribution of India to Scholastic literature in Arabic, we will now consider what she has contributed to philosophy in the same language. Philosophy is the only non-theological subject in which Indian scholars writing in Arabic have taken much interest—an interest which is next to that manifested by them in religious studies. Though many a book has been written on this subject in India, yet we must not expect anything quite new and different from what had been achieved in that direction outside India. As already pointed out more than once, Arabic books written in India date from the eleventh century of the Christian era, when Arabic learning had reached a limit beyond which it failed to progress further. Since that century the activities of the Muslim world have been largely confined to the making of commentaries and the reproduction of old materials. Moreover, it must also be borne in mind that philosophy is a subject in which even the early Muslim scholars in the centres of Islamic learning achieved nothing original. De Boer is right when he says that “Muslim philosophy has always continued to be an eclecticism which depended on their stock of works translated from Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation. It has not distinguished itself either by propounding new problems or by any peculiarity in its endeavour to solve the old ones.” To this remark I may add that if scholastic theology be included in philosophy, then it may be said that the Muslim scholars have somewhat

tried to solve some old problems under the guidance of their creeds and dogmas, in ways different from those of the Greek philosophers. I have deliberately used the word "somewhat", because even scholastic theologians have taken food for their arguing from Greek philosophy. They have accepted all those doctrines and thoughts which fitted in with their creed, and with the help of the arguments for those doctrines, they have tried to refute those philosophical conclusions which were opposed to their religion. Muslim scholastic theology is largely taken up with the refutation of certain doctrines of Greek philosophy from the standpoint of Islamic orthodoxy. Anyhow when Muslim philosophers like Kindī, Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd produced so little that is original, how can anything new be expected from Arabic writers in India? If Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā have expounded the philosophy of the Greek philosophers in their writings, Indian authors have only performed a similar service for a later generation in India.

The Indian scholars have shown greater and keener interest in the study of logic than in physics and metaphysics. I think that Muslim logicians have added something to that knowledge of logic which they learnt from the Greek. As far as is known to me, no effort has been made as yet to compare the logic of the Muslims with that of Greece, starting with a comparison between the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Organon* and the Greek text in order to find the original significance of the terms and how their meaning was changed in course of time, and then tracing the gradual development of Arabian logic in order to discover what new contribution the Muslim logicians made to Aristotle's logic.

The hold of logic on the minds of the Muslim thinkers has been so strong that whatever problems they may discuss they do so in an exact and logical manner. To illustrate

what I mean, I may give here an instance. To take the problem whether or not there is a God, a Muslim philosophical writer will argue in the following way, taking all the possibilities into consideration :—

There is either a God or no God. If there is a God, He may be one or more than one. If more than one, they are either independent of each other or not. In the same way he will take all possibilities into consideration in case there is no God. And then he will start discussion and examination from the bottom upwards, eliminating and rejecting what is absurd to him, and thus finally proving what he holds to be the true solution of the problem.

The contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature is so considerable that a separate treatise might be written on this subject. Therefore before I discuss the contribution of India to philosophic thought, I propose to give here a short account of the writers themselves.

The first great scholar of high philosophical attainments who promoted the study of philosophy in India was 'Abd Allāh of Tulunba, a village in Multan. He left his native place for Delhi in the reign of Sikandar Lūdi and settled there. The king had a great respect for his learning and used to attend his lectures, taking a seat unnoticed in a corner of the lecture-room so that the class might not be disturbed. He is the first Indian author who wrote on philosophy. He compiled a commentary entitled *Badi' al-Mizān* on a logical treatise known as *Mizān al-Mantiq*. This commentary with the text is still widely read by the students of logic in India.

Then comes the famous Mullā Maḥmūd of Jawnpūr (1062/1651), after whose death his learned teacher Muḥammad Afdal smiled no more. The shock was so great that he survived his pupil only for forty days. Maḥmūd was an eminent scholar in his time and was a contemporary

of two other equally distinguished men of letters, one 'Abd al-Rashīd (1083/1672) Jawnpūri, and the other 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot. Maḥmūd is the author of several works of which *al-Ḥikmat al-Bālighah* with a commentary by the same author entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* and *al-Dawḥah* are well-known. 'Abd al-Rashīd wrote a commentary entitled *al-Rashīdiyyah* on Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī's treatise on dialectics. This commentary is still widely studied in India. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot also wrote several commentaries on the text-books of philosophy.

These scholars were followed by Mir Muḥammad Zāhid, son of Qādi Muḥammad Aslam (1101/1689) and the famous Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār (1119/1707). The former was a scholar noted for high philosophical attainments. He was first attached to the court of Shāh-jahān and after his death to that of his successor. He wrote three glosses on three standard books, viz., on the *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* referred to in the last chapter, the *Sharḥ al-Tahdhīb* and the *Risālat al-Qutbiyyah*. The two last works will be discussed later on. All these three sets of glosses are generally known as *al-Ḥawāshī al-Thalāth al-Zāhi-diyyah* (الحواشي الثلاثة الزاهدية).

Qādi Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, as we have seen in the *Fiqh* section of this book, was the author of three works, one on the principles of *Fiqh*, entitled *Musallam al-Thubūt*, discussed already, the second on logic, *Sullam al-'Ulūm*, and the third a small treatise on a philosophical problem, *al-Jawhar al-Fard*. All these works are highly esteemed in India, and the *Sullam* has long been accepted as a standard work upon which no less than half a dozen eminent scholars have written independent commentaries.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that before the advent of the Mughals in India there was only one scholar, namely, 'Abd Allāh, who was especially

interested in philosophic studies. But it was during the Mughal period that several eminent scholars of philosophical attainments flourished. The courts of Shāh-jahān and 'Ālamgīr especially proved to be a magnet to attract scholars. During the decline of this dynasty we find that the states of Rāmpūr and Lucknow extended patronage to men of letters. Here a respectable and learned family of Khayrābād deserves notice. Of this family three generations, the grandfather, the father and the son, were noted for their abilities in philosophic learning. The grandfather was Faḍl Imām (1243/1827) who wrote a text-book on logic entitled *Mirqāt* and a commentary entitled *Tashḥīdh al-Adhhān* on the *Badī' al-Mizān* mentioned above. His son, Faḍl al-Ḥaqq, was a greater scholar. He wrote a text-book on physics entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-Sa'idiyyah*; which he dedicated to Sa'id al-Dīn Khān, Nawwāb of Rāmpūr, to whose court he was attached. His son, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, was also an eminent scholar noted for philosophical attainments. His commentary on the well-known text-book on philosophy, entitled *Hidāyat al-Hikmah*, is still appreciated in India.

Besides them, Qāḍi Mubārak, Ḥamd Allāh, Aḥmad 'Alī, Muḥammad Mubīn, Mullā Ḥasan, Baḥr al-'Ulūm and other scholars known as *Ulamā'-i-Farangī Maḥall* have been logicians of reputation in India. But it is a matter of regret that none of these scholars deviated from the beaten track of the old philosophy. They did not aspire to do more than write commentaries on the system of Logic devised by Ibn Sīnā, with merely slight and verbal differences here and there. Their philosophy was confined to the exposition of what had already been said by Ibn Sīnā whom they call al-Shaykh.

No branch of learning was so much misused in India as were grammar and logic. For the former they sacrificed the study of pure literature for which the study of grammar

serves but as a means. Similarly they studied logic for its own sake, though it was originally intended to serve as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge. Their merely verbal and technical discussions have won them a bad reputation in India, and many stories are current which reveal the attitude of the public towards the logicians. One or two may not be out of place here.

Once a father and a son sat together to take their food. There was, among other things, only one egg, meant for both. "What are you learning these days?" asked the father. "Logic," was the reply. "What is that?" the father continued. "It is a science," rejoined the youth, "by which I can prove that this one egg is two." "Do, please!" said the father eagerly, whereupon the son began to prove his contention by processes of logic which were, of course, unintelligible to his father, concluding his speech by saying, "Therefore, this egg is two." "I am very glad," said his father, "that you have proved the existence of two eggs in this dish. I shall take this, and you can take the other one."

The other story is that a student of logic, on his way to school, came across the old-fashioned oil-pressing machine worked by an ox. He stopped there for a while, and having observed the whole construction of the machine, approached the owner who was sitting on one side, and said to him, "I have been able to understand the use and purpose of all the parts of the machine, but I cannot comprehend why you have hung a bell around the neck of the ox." "So that," replied the man, "I may know while sitting here that the ox is moving." "But," rejoined the young logician, "the animal may keep his neck moving instead, while he himself is standing still." Whereupon, the machine-man, realising that the young enquirer was a logician, dismissed the matter by simply saying that his ox was not a logician.

Now I propose to give a detailed account of the contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature.

Of all the works on philosophy written in India, about twenty-five deserve notice. They fall under three main divisions:

I.	Commentaries on the standard text-books on dialectics	...	...	...	2
II.	Philosophy proper (Physics and Metaphysics):				
	A. Text-books	...	...	...	4
	B. Commentaries:				
	(i) On foreign works	...	...	...	3
	(ii) On Indian works	...	...	...	3
III.	Works on Logic:				
	A. Text-books	...	...	...	3
	B. Commentaries:				
	(i) On foreign works	...	...	...	6
	(ii) On Indian works	...	...	...	4
					<hr/>
	TOTAL	...	...	...	25

I. Commentaries on the Standard Text-Books on
 في منطق *Dialectics: Two Works.*

On dialectics there are two well-known text-books; one is *al-Risālat al-ʿAḍudiyyah* (الرسالة العظدية), composed by ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī (756/-1355) and the other, *al-ʿĀdāb al-Sharīfiyyah* (الاداب الشريفية) of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Jurjānī (816/-1413). On the former two Indian scholars have written commentaries: one is Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1150/1737), and the other ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, a much later prolific writer of Lucknow (1304/1886). His commentary, entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-Mukhtāriyyah*, is copious and has almost surpassed all previous works of the same character, as the

commentator incorporated them in his work ; but as the author does not properly belong to the period covered by the present thesis, I need not say anything more about his work.

The treatise on dialectics by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, being more detailed and elaborate than that of 'Adud al-Dīn, has been much more commonly used. Upon this text two contemporary Indian scholars wrote commentaries: one commentary is entitled *al-Ādāb al-Bāqīyyah* (الاداب الباقيه), composed by 'Abd al-Bāqī (1084/1673), and the other is *al-Ādāb al-Rashīdiyyah* (الاداب الرشيدية), by a greater scholar, 'Abd al-Rashīd of Jawnpūr (1083/1672), who was noted for his vast learning and piety. When the emperor Shāh-jahān heard of his high qualifications, he sent him an invitation. But 'Abd al-Rashīd did not accept it. His commentary, being more detailed and copious than the other one, attracts a greater degree of attention than the former.

This commentary contains an introduction, nine discourses, and an appendix. The introduction deals with the definitions of all the terms of this science. *Munāẓarah* (dialectics) is defined as a discussion between two rivals on a certain topic for the purpose of arriving at the truth. According to this definition a discourse is said to be '*Illat Ṣūriyyah* (formal cause) ; opponents, '*Illat Fa'iliyyah* (active cause) ; the topic, '*Illat Mādīyah* (material cause) ; and lastly, seeking the truth, '*Illat Ghā'iyyah* (final cause). The commentator lays much emphasis on the last, the absence of which changes *Munāẓarah* into *Mujādalah* or *Mukābarah* (a dispute for supremacy).

The gist of the first discourse of the book is that if a man, called *Mudda'ī* (assertor), makes an assertion with which another man, called *Sā'il* (enquirer), does not agree, the latter will demand proof, saying "I do not admit what you say," whereupon the assertor will submit his

arguments. This demand of proof is technically called *Man'*. The opponent (*i.e.*, the enquirer) can either reject it on account of some logical fault (this way of refutation being called *Naqd*) or oppose it with a counter argument, saying "I have an argument which proves the contrary," (this way of rejection being called *Mu'aradah*). His argument being opposed by the opponent, the original assertor now assumes the position of an opponent (*Sā'il*), and the original *Sā'il* becomes an assertor (*Mudda'i*). This process of the exchange of their respective positions will go on for some time until the truth is arrived at.

The second discourse says that before a debate is started, each word in the assertion should be clearly defined, in order to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity. This definition is also subject to the above-mentioned ways of opposition, *viz.*, *Man'*, *Naqd*, and *Mu'aradah*. But to demand definition for those words which both parties understand well does not become a proper *Munāẓarah*.

The third discourse deals with quotations. References may be demanded for quotations, provided that the enquirer does not know them, otherwise it becomes *Mujādalah* instead of *Munāẓarah*.

The next four discourses dwell elaborately and individually upon the detailed explanations of *Man'*, *Naqd*, and *Mu'aradah*.

The eighth discourse discusses how an assertor becomes an opponent and *vice versa*. The ninth discourse directs the reader not to argue if the assertor or the opponent, as the case may be, is not serious in the debate, and is intentionally committing a fallacy.

II. Books on Philosophy proper : (A) Text-books: Four.

1. *Al-Dawḥat al-Mayfādah fī Ḥadīqat al-Ṣūrah wa 'l-Māddah* (الداحة المفاداة في حديقة الصور، والمادة), a treatise on the discussion of "form and matter" by Mullā Maḥmūd of

Jawnpūr mentioned above. In this treatise he says that all thinkers agree that in a physical body there is something which admits of changes. There is a good deal of controversy as to what that thing is. *Al-Hukamā' al-Ishrāqiyyūn* (the intuitionists) hold that it is the very essence of a body (*Nafs al-Jism*). Scholastic theologians are of the opinion that it is the indivisible part (*al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā*) of the body, while *al-Hukamā' al-Mashshā'ūn* (Peripatetic philosophers) advance this theory that every physical body is composed of two essential and inseparable things: one is matter (*Haylā*) and the other is form (*Ṣūrah*). No form without matter and no matter without form. The author supports this theory and refutes others.

2. *Al-Hikmat al-Bālighah* (الحكمة البالغة), by the same author. This book was meant to cover all the branches of philosophy, logic, physics and metaphysics, but as the author commenced it during his last illness, only two out of six or eight sections of physics were completed, and the other two branches of philosophy, viz., logic, and metaphysics, remained untouched. The author also wrote upon it a commentary entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* (الشمس البازغة), which will be noticed again later on. Both the text and the commentary are widely studied by the students of Arabic in India.

3. *Al-Jawhar al-Fard* (الجوهر الفرد), by Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, whom we have known as the author of the *Musallam al-Thubūt*. In this tract the author deals with *Juz' lā Yatajazzā* (indivisible part), also called *al-Jawhar al-Fard*. This work is almost on the same line as the *Dawḥat al-Mayyūdah* by Mullā Maḥmūd, with this difference, that the scope of the latter is a little wider, as it deals with both form and matter, while the *Jawhar al-Fard* is confined to the discussions concerning the indivisible part only. About the divisibility and indivisibility of an ultimate part there are four theories. The majority

of the scholastic theologians hold that a body is composed of limited, *i.e.*, further indivisible parts, which are actually present in it; while Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Shahrastānī, the author of the *Kitābu 'l-Mīlāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, differs from the above opinion in denying the actual presence of the indivisible parts in a whole, but holds that they are only there potentially. The third theory is that a body is composed of unlimited (*i.e.*, always divisible) parts which are actually present in the whole. This doctrine is advocated by Nazzām al-Mu'tazilī. The fourth theory supports the potential presence rather than the actual presence of unlimited parts. This theory is held by the majority of Muslim philosophers and by some scholastic theologians of philosophical tendencies also.

The author simply reproduces all the arguments used by previous writers. There is hardly anything new, except the style and the way of exposition, and the fact that he has collected all the arguments given by different authors in one place. Of all the four theories, he is active in refuting the theory of *al-Jawhar al-Fard* held by the scholastic theologians. He has given several mathematical proofs in refutation of this theory. One or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) Every line can be divided into two or three equal parts. If one line consists of one or three so-called indivisible atoms, its division into half means the further breaking up of the middle atom.

(2) According to the 39th theorem of Euclid, the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum on the squares on the remaining two sides. If one atom is one unit long and one unit wide, the hypotenuse will be greater than one and less than two units, which means that an atom is to be further broken up.

(3) If you draw a circle on a so-called indivisible atom, it will touch the four sides of the atom on four

points only, and the rest of the circle will run inside the atom, dividing it further.

One or two arguments of the holders of the opposite view may also be given here. Their chief argument is that if a straight line is drawn touching a circle, they will meet each other at a point only which is the ultimate part of the circle or the line, and cannot be divided further, as a point has no capacity for division.

The other argument advanced by them runs like this : If you say that a mountain has unlimited atoms just as a small grain has, then why is the mountain so much bigger than a grain, although both of them are composed of unlimited atoms ?

It is a curious thing that most scholastic theologians hold this theory of *al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā* because thereby they can refute the doctrine of the eternity of the world, as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī says in his commentary on the '*Aqū'id*' that by establishing the existence of this theory one can be safe from many heathen arguments of the philosophers ; while Muslim scholars of philosophical tendencies such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Athīr al-Dīn Abhari, the author of the *Hidāyat al-Hikmah*, Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūri and Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, who wrote an excellent work on the principles of Jurisprudence—all these people, in spite of being staunch Muslims, hold the contrary view and with the same purpose.

4. The fourth text-book on philosophy is *al-Hadiyyat al-Sa'idiyyāh* (الهدية السعيدية), composed by a later scholar named Faḍl Haqq Khayrābādī (1278/1861) who was noted for being well versed in philosophical studies. This book was dedicated to Muḥammad Sa'id Khān, the Nawwāb of Rāmpūr. As this book is a good example of a text-book on physics ultimately based on the Aristotelian philosophy, a fuller account may not be undesirable.

It begins with the definition and classification of *Hikmah* (wisdom). *Hikmah* means knowledge of the realities of things as they are, as far as is possible for human beings and the performance of those acts which lead a man to perfection. Things are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which lie in our power and those which do not. Knowledge about the former is called *al-Hikmat al-'Amaliyyah*, for things lying within our power are only our actions. This *al-Hikmat al-'Amaliyyah* (practical wisdom) is divided into three sub-divisions, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (ethics), *al-Tadbīr al-Manzilī* (domestic science), and *al-Siyāsāt al-Mudaniyyah* (politics), for human actions are either those which concern the doer only, or those which affect a family, or those which are connected with the members of a city or state.

As to those things which do not lie in the power of a man, knowledge of them is called *al-Hikmat al-Nazariyyah*, which is further divided into three sub-divisions, *'Ilm al-Ilāhī* (higher philosophy or metaphysics), *'Ilm al-Riyāṭī* (mathematics) and *'Ilm al-Ṭabī'ī* (physics).

But what place is there for logic? Some have defined *Hikmah* in such a way that logic is included among its branches, while others regard it as an instrument for the acquirement of knowledge in the same way as a language.

'Ilm al-Ṭabī'ī is again divided into eight branches:

- (1) *'Ilm al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* (Auscultatio Physics):
- (2) *'Ilm al-Samā' wa 'l-'Ālam* (De coelo et mundo);
- (3) *'Ilm al-Kawn wa 'l-Fasād* (De generatione et corruptione);
- (4) *'Ilm al-Fi'l wa 'l-Infi'āl* (De sensu et sensato);
- (5) *'Ilm al-Āthār al-'Ulwiyyah* (Meteorology);
- (6) *'Ilm al-Nafs* (Psychology);
- (7) *'Ilm al-Nabāt* (Botany);
- (8) *'Ilm al-Ḥaywān* (Zoology).

Al-hadiyyah covers the third section of *al-Hikmat al-Nazariyyah*, namely, *al-Hikmat al-Tabi'iyah*, with all its branches. It contains an introduction and three sections called *Funūn*. In the Introduction the author discusses those data of physics which, as a matter of fact, fall within the scope of the higher section of philosophy, viz., metaphysics. What are those data? A physical body and its definition, that is all; in other words, the controversial question of *al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā*. The author follows the creed of the philosophers and impugns the theory of *al-Jawhar al-Fard*.

✓ The first section, divided into several sub-sections, dwells on *Auscultatio Physica*, i.e., on those properties and accidents, common and inevitable to all bodies, whether heavenly or earthly. These properties are as follows:—

- (1) Space (*makān*), which according to some consists of length, and height, and according to others is identified with surface. The author holds the latter view. He also believes in the impossibility of an absolute vacuum.
- (2) *Hayyiz* (place of penetration) which is more general than space.
- (3) Shape, due to the very nature of the body.
- (4) Motion and rest.

Motion is defined as a gradual shifting from potentiality to actuality. Six things are inevitable for motion: 1. a moving body; 2. a mover; 3. space of journey; 4. a beginning; 5. an end; and 6. speed.

Motion takes place in four aspects: Space, Form, Quantity, and Quality. Motion is of two kinds; *Dhātī* (essential), and *ʿAridī* (accidental), the former being further divided into three varieties:

- (i) *Tabi'iyah* (physical), e.g., the falling of a stone from a height;

(ii) *Qaṣriyyah* (compulsory or forced), e.g., the rising of a stone when somebody throws it up;

(iii) *Irāḍi* (intentional), e.g., the movement of animals.

Every body, though resting, has always an inclination to move. This inclination is always resisting any obstacle to its motion. Any body devoid of this inclination cannot be moved, even by a force. Every body has inclination either for *Ḥarakat Mustaqīmah* (lineal motion) or *Ḥarakat Mustadīrah* (circular motion). Heavenly bodies move in a circle.

(5) The fifth property common to all bodies is time. There are several theories about time. The author supports the school of *Mashahū'ūn* (peripatetic philosophers, such as Aristotle, etc.) to whom time is a quantity, united and continuous but not resting, and a speed of motion.

There are several theories about *al-ān* (the present time) also. The author holds that just a point at the centre of a line is a parting limit between two halves, though the point itself is not divided; similarly *al-ān* is a point indivisible between the past and the future.

∞ The second section, with many sub-sections, deals with the heavenly bodies and so is also called *al-Falakiyyāt*. This is the second branch of physics, called *al-Samā' wa 'l-Ālam* (*De coelo et mundo*). ∟ *Al-Falak* is that which determines all directions. It represents the uppermost direction above which there is no upward direction. *Al-Falak* is an uncompounded body, that is to say, it is not composed of bodies of various nature like the earthly bodies. It is subject to the circular motion and to the lineal. Its circular motion is eternal—eternal in this sense “as long as this universe exists”—and is intentional and neither physical nor forced.

Al-Falak has two *Nafs* (mental faculties), one is absolutely free from matter and the other depends upon matter, just as man has two faculties; by one he has the

conception of the universal and by the other he conceives the particular.

✓ The third section deals with the atomic or material world (*Unṣuriyyāt*) which topic comprises the rest of the branches of physics. This section is divided into several sub-sections. The first sub-section deals with *De generatione et corruptione*.

There are four uncompounded states of the elements : Heat, Cold, Wetness, Dryness. Every material body must have two of them. Heat and cold are active, and wetness and dryness, passive. Every element must have only one state from each of these two groups ; and thus there are four elements representing the four simple states :

Fire is hot and dry ;

Air is hot and wet ;

Water is cold and wet ;

Earth is cold and dry.

The author holds that the earth is stationary and not moving, as was supposed by a certain class of ancient philosophers and is still believed by European thinkers of to-day. He has given many arguments, one or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) The very nature of the earth requires lineal motion and not circular, and so it will go on moving indefinitely in one way, or, after reaching a certain limit, will have to return. The former case is absurd, on account of the impossibility of infinity of space, while in the latter the earth will have to stop its motion before it changes its direction and the ceasing of the motion cannot be conceived for a body which must move.

(2) The second and other arguments of the author are almost of the same nature. Two illustrations will suffice to show the nature of such arguments. If the earth were moving, then a stone thrown straight upward ought not to

fall down straight on the same place from which it was thrown; but we find that it does. Similarly, a bird flying towards the west ought to fly faster than another one flying in the opposite direction, if the earth were moving from west to east.

Then the author discusses the interchangeableness and inter-solubility of all these four elements. The equilibrium of the four elements is called the *Mizāj* (nature or temperament) of the body.

In the next sub-section he dwells upon the action of elements upon one another, and upon different theories as to which of the three following is active: matter, shape or quantity. This is the topic called *De sensu et sensato*.

Then the author discusses *Kā'ināt al-Jaww* (things existing in the atmospheric world, *i.e.*, meteorological objects), *e.g.*, smoke, vapour, cloud, rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, shooting-stars, rainbow, halo, wind, etc. In these discussions there is nothing that deserves special mention except that he tries in vain to explain the various colours of the rainbow. Some explanations have been given which were not convincing to Ibn Sinā who refutes them and frankly admits his inability to explain this peculiar phenomenon. How, indeed, could an explanation have been given in an age when the resolution of the white ray of light into various colours had not yet been discovered?

After meteorological discussions, the author takes up mineralogy. Minerals are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which are malleable, *e.g.*, metals, and those which are not malleable, *e.g.*, glass, sulphur, etc. They are still further sub-divided. As to the formation of these minerals he says that they are generally generated by a mixture of mercury and sulphur in different proportions. As to whether silver can be changed into gold, he quotes the opinion of Ibn Sinā who says that this possibility was

never manifested to him, because the difference in the proportions of the ingredients is unknown. The author, however, does not agree with the final authority on the subject and points out that many sages and thinkers believe in the feasibility of silver being changed into gold.

Next he deals with botany, and describes in detail the various characteristics of vegetables.

Then he turns to zoology. The animal mind has two faculties, stimulating and apprehending; the former being divided into three—nervous stimulus, faculties of appetite and anger; and the latter being classified in two groups—external (*i.e.*, the five senses) and internal, which are also five.

Lastly, the author discusses psychology and deals with the human mind, which has two faculties—*Quwwat 'Āqilah*, also called *Quwwat Naẓariyyah* (the faculty of knowing) and *Quwwat 'Āmilah* (the faculty of action).

The author discusses the different theories regarding *Nafs* (mind) and supports the one held generally by the Muslim philosophers, to whom *Nafs* is an essence, free from matter, neither body nor pertaining to any body, having with the body a connection of control and administration rather than that existing between a whole and its part or between a container and the contained; it is a created thing, surviving the decay of the body, and it conceives the universal as well as the particular. The detailed discussion of this definition of "mind" brings the book to an end.

(B) *Commentaries on books on Philosophy proper :*

(i) *Commentaries on Foreign Books : Three.*

As already mentioned, the *Hidāyat al-Ilkmaḥ* is a well-known book on general philosophy, composed by Shaykh Athir al-Din 'Umar al-Abhari (660/1261). On this text two scholars, one Mullā Husayn b. Mu'in Maybudhī and

the other Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, known as *Sadrā-i-Shirāzī* (828/1424) wrote commentaries. The commentary of the former is known as the *Maybudhī* (میبذی) and that of the latter as the *Sadrā* (سدر). Both these commentaries are held in great respect and are widely used in India. They have been further commented upon. On the *Maybudhī* no less eminent a scholar than ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot wrote glosses, while the *Sadrā* was copiously annotated by Walī Allāh of Lucknow, who was a scholar of a later period, noted for his philosophical writings. He belonged to the Farangī Maḥall of Lucknow, which has produced many scholars. He died in 1270/1853. Both these Indian super-commentaries are helpful in elucidating the philosophical subtleties of the two texts.

The third commentary is that of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī (to whom reference has been made above) on the full *Hidāyat al-Ḥikmah* itself. The author being rather modern, this work falls out of the scope of the present thesis. It may, however, be said that it is widely read by students of philosophy in India, before they read the standard commentaries such as the *Sadrā* and the *Maybudhī*.

(ii) *Commentaries on Indian Books: Three.*

One is Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī’s commentary, entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* (الشمس البازغة), on his own text-book, *al-Ḥikmat al-Bālighah*, mentioned above. First he introduces his text, saying *Qultu* (i.e., I said) and then after a certain length, it is followed by an explanation, commencing with the word *Aqūlu* (i.e., now I say). On this full work, that is, the text and the commentary, two learned men of a later period, one Ḥamd Allāh (1160/1747), the well-known commentator on Muḥibb Allāh’s *Sullam al-‘Ulūm*, and the other Nizām al-Dīn (1161/1748), a distinguished scholar, who was the ancestor of the

'*Ulamā-i-Farangī Maḥall*, wrote illuminating glosses, which are much appreciated in India.

III. Works on Logic : (A) Text-books : Three.

1. *Al-Durrat al-Bahiyyah* (*الدرّة البهيّة*), a small tract written by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi. It deals with the chief problems of logic. It begins with the three kinds of significance :

- (1) *Muṭābaqah*, that is to say, literal or of coincidence, *e.g.*, 'man' means a rational animal ;
- (2) *Tadammunī*, *i.e.*, partial or of implication, *e.g.*, "man" may mean a mere animal only ;
- (3) *Iltizāmī*, *i.e.*, associated significance, *e.g.*, "man" may mean one capable of teaching and instruction.

Then the author deals with "definition," which brings in the topic of genus, species, differentia, etc. Then he dwells on proposition and its kinds, categorical and hypothetical, the parts of a proposition, and then on contradiction, conversion, simplex and conversion by contradiction, and, lastly, on syllogism and the four figures. In short, this small tract treats of all the main principles of Logic in a very condensed way.

2. The second text-book in chronological order, but first in order of merit, is the well-known *Sullam al-'Ulūm* (*سلم العلوم*) of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, whom we have met several times already. This book occupies the highest position in the ranks of Logic in India. Among works on Logic written outside India hardly any book enjoys such a celebrity and reputation as that of two works: one *al-Shamsiyyah* by Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Qazwīnī, known as al-Kātibī (613/1216), and the other, the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* by Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī (792/1389). Both these works have attracted the attention of a large

number of scholars who have written commentaries and super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses on them, but as the Indian work *Sullam al-'Ulūm* is considered to be suitable for advanced students, these two are generally read and studied prior to the *Sullam*. The author in his brief preface has expressed a desire that it may shine among the text-books just as the sun does among the stars, and I think his desire has been realised. The author commences his book, as usual with Oriental writers, with *Ḥamd wa Ṣalāt* (Divine praise and prayers for the Prophet). The Divine praise has been so skilfully constructed in words technically connected with Arabian logic that it may be quoted here :

سبحان ما عظم شانه لا يحد ولا يتصور ولا ينتج ولا يتغير تعالى عن الجنس
والجهات جعل الكليات والجزئيات الايمان به نعم التصديق والاعتقاد به حبذا التوفيق

(How holy and great ! He cannot be defined nor conceived nor inferred. He never changes and is above resemblance and directions. He created the universal as well as the particular. To believe in him is the best judgment and to depend upon him is the excellent grace.)

In India logical studies are supposed to be completed with the study of this text-book and the commentaries upon it. The importance of this book may be further judged from the fact that more than a dozen eminent scholars have regarded it as an honour to write commentaries upon it.* Some of these commentators will be mentioned later on when commentaries on text-books on logic will be discussed.

The chief characteristic of the book is that it is very brief, like an ideal text-book after Arabian fashion, and yet no problem has been left out. The author has given all

*(Vide the J. B. A. S. of 1913, p. 296, for a list of the commentators on this work.)

the controversial points with their correct solutions. Unless a student already possesses a fair knowledge of logic, he cannot understand it, as it is too difficult and too advanced for a beginner.

The book, unlike other works on logic, is not divided into chapters and sub-chapters. After *Ḥamd wa Ṣalāt* the author starts with an introduction which deals with knowledge and its kinds, *Taṣawwur* (conception) and *Taṣdīq* (judgment) and the *Mawḍūʿ* (subject-matter) of Logic. After the introduction, the book may be regarded as having been divided into two parts, one dealing with *Taṣawwur* and the other with *Taṣdīq*. To the latter he has devoted a much longer space.

It is a great pity that, like all followers of the Arabian system of logic, he deals with Inductive Logic very briefly. He says that induction makes the conclusion probable but not certain. He gives the only example given by nearly all the Muslim logicians, which runs thus: All animals move their lower jaw while chewing food, because men, horses, cows, etc., do that. This conclusion can never be certain, as there may be an exception, for it is said that the crocodile does not do so. He does not agree with Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī, an eminent scholar of Persia, to whom reference has been made several times in the preceding pages, when he says that *al-Iḥṣāʾ* (examination of all the similar cases) is possible. He, while discussing induction, raises a curious objection. In a certain house, there are three occupants, A, B and C, two Muslims and one Hindū. If it is not at first recognised which is which, a conclusion may be drawn from the observation of the larger number. Supposing you happen to see first A and B, you may, because two are more than one, come to the conclusion that these two are Muslims and the absent C will necessarily be the Hindū. On another occasion you may happen to see A and C. Then, according to the same method of argument,

you may think that these two are the Muslims and the remaining B must be the Hindū. And if on a third occasion you see B and C, you will take them to be the Muslims and the absent A to be the Hindū. This means that you have regarded each of them both as a Muslim and as a Hindū. The solution is that in passing judgment on the basis of observation the larger number does not provide certainty. When you do not know for certain which of them is Muslim and which Hindū, each one of them may quite possibly be a Muslim or a Hindū.

3. The third book on Logic written by an Indian is *Mirqāt* (*مِرْقَات*) by Fādī Imām, with whom we have already become acquainted. It is hardly more than a compilation, the material being taken from the *Shamsiyyah* and the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq*. Upon this work the grandson of the author ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq wrote a commentary.

(B) Commentaries on Works of Logic :

(i) Commentaries on Foreign Logical Works : Six.

The first book that deserves notice is a commentary entitled *Badī‘ al-Mizān* (*بَدِيعُ الْمِيزَان*), composed by ‘Abd Allāh Tulanbī who has already been mentioned as the first scholar to promote the study of philosophy in India, on a treatise entitled *Mizān al-Manṭiq*. The value of this commentary lies in the fact that it was the first work on philosophy or logic written by an Indian. On this commentary Fādī Imām Khayrābādī wrote a super-commentary entitled *Tashhīdh al-Adhhān* (*تَشْهِيْدُ الْاَذْهَان*).

I have already introduced two well-known text-books written outside India, one being *al-Shamsiyyah* by Al-Kātibī (693/1293) and the other *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* by Taftāzānī (792/1389). The first was commented upon by Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (766/1364) and was further commented upon by Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī

(818/1415). The first commentary is known as the *Qutbī* and the super-commentary as the *Mīr Qutbī*. Qutb al-Dīn composed a text-book also, known as *al-Risālah fi al-Taṣawwur wa 'l-Taṣdīq*. The *Tahdhīb al-Mantiq* was commented upon by two scholars, one 'Abd Allāh Yazdī and the other Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī.

Having described these three foreign books, I now turn to the Indian commentaries and super-commentaries upon them.

On the *Mīr Qutbī* 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Sialkot wrote further glosses which are full of learned discussions on controversial points of logic.

On Yazdī's commentary on the *Tahdhīb al-Mantiq*, 'Abd al-Nabī of Aḥmadābād (1144/1731) wrote glosses and marginal notes; and upon Dawwānī's commentary on the same text-book (i.e., *Tahdhīb*), Mīr Zāhid, who has already been noticed, added glosses which are known as *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Zāhidiyyat al-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية الزاهدية الجالية). The merits of these glosses have been full recognised by Indian scholars of Arabic, inasmuch as a large number of the learned men of the succeeding generations have written super-glosses and super-super-glosses on these glosses of Mir Zāhid.

Also on the aforesaid *Risālat al-Taṣawwur wa 'l-Taṣdīq* by Qutb al-Dīn, the same Mir Zāhid wrote glosses known as *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Zāhidiyyat al-Qutbiyyah* (الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية). These glosses have also attracted much attention among the students of logic in India and consequently many additions have been made to these glosses in the form of marginal and super-marginal notes upon them. These two sets of Zāhid's glosses are in themselves separate text-books, and hence they too require glosses to explain them. They are full of logical subtleties and complicated discussions and are meant for advanced and serious students of logic. Out of many super-glosses on *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Qutbiyyah* those of Ghulām Yahyā Bihārī who died in 1128/1715, deserve mention.

These super-glosses have been in their turn, commented upon by the scholars of the succeeding generations.

(ii) *Commentaries on Indian Text-Books on Logic : Four.*

Besides the *Sharḥ Mirqāt*, previously referred to, various commentaries by various scholars on the *Sullam al-'Ulūm* deserve mention. As already said, more than a dozen scholars wrote commentaries on this book, the following being the most widely used :—

1. The commentary known as the *Ḥamd Allāh* (حمد الله), after its author, Ḥamd Allāh of Sandilah (1160/1747).
2. The commentary known as the *Qāḍī Mubārak*, (قاضي مبارك), after its author, Qāḍī Mubārak of Gopāma'ū (1162/1748).

N.B.—The first commentary is noted for the portion relating to *Taṣḍīq* (Judgment), while the second is valued for the section of *Taṣawwur* (Conception).

3. The commentary known as the *Mullā Ḥasan* (ملا حسن), after its author, Mullā Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (1198/1783).
4. The commentary entitled the *Mir'āt al-Shurūḥ* (مرآة الشروح), composed by Mullā Muḥammad Mubīn (1225/1810).

All these commentaries, especially those of Ḥamd Allāh and Qāḍī Mubārak, are highly esteemed in India and some scholars have further written glosses on these commentaries.

CHAPTER VIII

Literature on Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicines

Since India has not contributed much to the mathematical, astrological and medical branches of Arabic literature, I propose to deal with them briefly in one place, here.

The contribution of India to the above-mentioned departments of Arabic literature during the Pre-Ghaznawid period has already been referred to, so that here only the literature of later periods will require consideration.

1. Contribution to Mathematical Literature.

Mathematics is one of those sciences which received less and less attention from Muslim scholars after the golden days of their intellectual activity and scientific researches had passed away. To say nothing of original work, they could not even write commentaries, as they did in the case of other branches of learning. When Arabic-speaking countries and those countries lying close to them did not contribute much to the mathematical branches of Arabic literature, it is not to be expected that India, the Arabic product of which is of a much later date than that of the other countries, would produce any Arabic work of importance or originality on mathematics. But just as Persia might reasonably be proud of producing in later periods a few mathematicians of high repute, such as Bahā' al-Din Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Āmulī (1031/1621), etc., similarly India may be given the credit of being the home of a few equally good mathematicians, such

as 'Iṣmat Allāh b. 'Azmat Allāh Sahāranpūrī (after 1090/1679), Luṭf Allāh al-Mutakhhlis bi'l-Muhandis b. Ustād Aḥmad al-Mi'mār and his son Imām al-Dīn.

Bahā' al-Dīn's *Khulāṣat al-Hisāb* is an important work on arithmetic. Its importance may be judged from the fact that several authors have written commentaries and super-commentaries upon it in Arabic as well as in Persian, and that Professor Nesselmann has edited and Aristide Marre has translated it into French. The first author who wrote a copious commentary on it is one of the Indian mathematicians just mentioned. 'Iṣmat Allāh was an eminent mathematician of his age. His commentary entitled *Anwār Khulāṣat al-Hisāb* (انوار خلاصة الحساب) on the above-mentioned *Khulāṣat al-Hisāb* is a learned work in which the author has creditably displayed his mathematical talents. The original author and the commentator belong almost to the same period and died at an interval of about sixty years only.

The commentator commences his commentary with a brief introduction in which he emphasises the importance of arithmetic, and then records his appreciation of the *Khulāṣah*.

While commenting upon the definition of arithmetic in the text, he discusses at length the meaning of *Riyāḍī* (mathematics) and the reason why it is so named. He states that *Riyāḍī* has been so called because of the training it gives to the mind. "The ancient philosophers," says he, "used to give preference to it over the rest of the sciences including even logic." Then he discusses whether number, with or without a relation to objects, is the subject-matter of arithmetic. He quotes Abū 'Alī Sina's authority as saying that an arithmetician deals with abstract number without reference to any subject. The commentator criticises this statement and asserts that absolute number does not form the subject-matter of this science.

The original author's definition of number as being a quantity that can be applied to a unit and to a combination of units, is incomplete in the opinion of the commentator, as he thinks that this definition does not include fractions. He, therefore, suggests that the correct definition of number will be: "A quantity applicable to one and to a fraction or multiplication of one."

It is curious to see that though numerals are so closely associated with arithmetic, yet they have been very sparingly used throughout the text as well as in the commentary.

The commentator, while commenting upon the anecdotes given by the original author, has in places added some more short stories. For instance, the text narrates that 'Ali, the fourth rightly directed Caliph, being once asked the lowest common measure of numbers from one to nine, said, "Multiply the days of the year by the days of the week," that is to say, 360 multiplied by 7 is equal to 2520. Commenting on this story, the commentator gives three more stories, all relating to 'Ali, to show how well-versed he was in arithmetic. One of these may not be out of place here. Once upon a time 'Ali, when he was just putting his foot in the stirrup of his saddle, was approached by a woman who complained that a great wrong had been done to her, as she had been given only one out of six hundred dinārs left by her brother. 'Ali at once remarked that perhaps her brother had left behind him besides herself a wife, parents, two daughters and twelve brothers. "Yes," said she, whereupon 'Ali rejoined that in that case she had received her due.

These stories, if true, really go to show the extraordinary arithmetical talent of 'Ali. But it may be suspected that actually these calculations might have been worked out by some expert and in order to prove the arithmetical skill of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, they have been, by way of "pious falsehood," ascribed to him.

This commentary is very illuminating and useful and establishes the mathematical talents of the author. All the difficult passages and complicated problems in the text are fully explained.

On the *Khulāṣah*, Luṭf Allāh, poetically named al-Muhandis, b. Ustād Aḥmad, the architect, also wrote a brief commentary to which his son Imām al-Dīn added glosses. This Luṭf Allāh translated the text into Persian also. All these works were consulted by Rawshan 'Alī when he again translated the text into Persian, with explanatory notes, as late as 1812, A.D.*

It may not be out of place to mention that Luṭf Allāh, his father Ustād Aḥmad the architect, his brother 'Aṭā' Allāh, and his son Imām al-Dīn, were all of them scholars noted for their high mathematical attainments. 'Aṭā' Allāh composed a treatise in verse on Arithmetic, Mensuration and Algebra. Luṭf Allāh, besides his above-mentioned Arabic commentary on, and Persian translation of, the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb*, wrote other books on mathematics, but in Persian, not in Arabic.

II. Contribution to Astronomical Literature.

On Astronomy, two Arabic text-books are widely known: one is *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-Hay'at al-Basīṭah* (المخلص في الهيئة البسيطة) by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jaghmini al-Khwārizmī, which work is generally known as *Jaghmini*; and the other is *Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk* (تشریح الافلاك) by Bahā' al-Dīn, the author of the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb*. On the *Jaghmini*, Mūsā b. Maḥmūd Qāḍī-Zādah composed a commentary which is generally known as the *Sharḥ-i-Jaghmini*.

*Dr. Nesselmann who edited the text, says in his introduction that he was unable to trace any of the commentaries consulted by Rawshan 'Alī. But at that time the catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office Library had not been published.

One Indian mathematician, Imām al-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh, to whom a reference has been made above, wrote a super-commentary on the *Sharḥ-i-Jaḡhmīnī* and a commentary, entitled *al-Taṣrīḥ* (التصريح) on the *Taṣhriḥ al-Aḥlāk* of Bahā' al-Dīn. In the latter the commentator has embodied some materials from Indian astronomy also, which are quite new to Arabian astronomy. One such addition is what is known in astronomy as *al-Dū'irat al-Hindiyyah* (The Indian circle) which is used for the determination of the midday, etc. Both these commentaries occupy a high place in the curriculum of astronomical studies in India.

Perhaps the greatest and most important contribution of India to the mathematical or astronomical branch of Arabic literature during the post-Ghaznawid period is the *Kitāb al-Maḡāzīs* (كتاب المغازيس), an Arabic translation made by Mu'tamad Khān Rustam b. Diyānat Khān Qubād Hārithī from a work of Clavius on Gnomonics (published at Rome in 1581). The Indian Office Library contains a manuscript of it, which is, as stated by the son of the translator, the rough copy (but neatly and clearly written) of Mu'tamad Khān. It is a voluminous work in 427 folios, with thirty-three lines on a page. The British Museum has only a small fragment of it. (Cat. Bri. Mus. 443.) No other MS. of the work can be traced as existing in any Indian library, or outside India elsewhere, as far as the available catalogues can be relied upon.

Mu'tamad Khān Rustam, who flourished in the reign of Awrangzib in a position of some importance, was a great friend of learning and of books. Several manuscripts copied for him are to be found in the British Museum, on the title of each of which it is written in his own hand that it was copied for him and for his son, and that in places he corrected them. The names of two such MSS. are *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Add. 16648) and *al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah* (Add.

16647). On the margin of the title-page of the MS. there is this note written by Mr. Johnson that the translator went to Portugal where he translated the work. This work deserves close study by those who are interested in this branch of learning.

III. *Contribution to Literature on Medicine.*

The contribution of India to Arabic literature on medicine falls under two heads : one, commentaries and super-commentaries, and the other, text-books (*i.e.*, original compositions). Under the first heading there are seven works that arrest our attention :

1. One of the most important Arabic works on the science of medicine is *al-Qānūn* by Abū 'Alī Sinā. On this medical encyclopædia several scholars have written commentaries, of whom three are Indian. One is Ḥakīm 'Alī Jilānī (1017/1608) who was a physician attached to the court of Akbar. He was a learned scholar, excelled his contemporaries in mathematics and medicine, and was admired for his wonderful cures. Recognising his excellent talents, Akbar conferred upon him the rank of 700 and the title of Jālinūs-i-Zamān (Galen of the time). In the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign he constructed the famous reservoir through which lay the passage to a small room, the door of which was always open but water did not enter the room. When completed, the Emperor went to see it. He himself plunged into the water and entered the room, which he found well furnished. He remained in the room for some time, to the anxiety of his attendants outside the reservoir, who were greatly relieved when he came out again safely. In 1017/1608 Jahāngīr also visited the reservoir and saw the room, whereupon he promoted the skilful constructor to the rank of 2000.* If the description of the

reservoir given by Jahāngir himself in his *Tuzuk* and by 'Abd al-Razzāq in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* is correct, one has to admit that the constructor was really a genius. His commentary on *al-Qānūn* is the largest of its kind and in point of authority comes next to that of al-Qarshī.

2. The next commentary on the *Qānūn* is entitled *Ghāyāt al-Fuhūm fi Tadbīr al-Mahmūm* (غایات الفہوم فی تدبیر المہموم) by Ishāq Khān b. Ismā'il Khān of Delhi, an Indian physician of the 12th century of the *Hijra*. This commentary is confined to that portion of the *Qānūn* which treats of fevers (i.e., Fann I of Book IV). The Bānkipūr Catalogue IV, p. 59, contains the following account:—

"In the preface the author states that in this he proposes to discuss the prognosis and critical days of fevers, along with their treatment. To accomplish this purpose, he consulted al-Qarshī's commentary on the *Qānūn*, which, though it contains useful comments, is yet full of futile attacks on Abū Sinā. He, therefore, referred to al-Jilānī's commentary which, according to him, contains successful refutations of al-Qarshī's hostile criticisms, but the practical portion is commented upon at such length that it becomes too voluminous to be of general utility. This work, he says, is an abridgment of al-Jilānī's long comments, to serve as an introduction to that encyclopædia."

3. The third Indian commentary on the *Qānūn* is *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn* by Ḥakīm Shifā'ī Khān b. Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Shāfi Khān Masīḥ al-Mulk, an Indian physician who flourished in the reign of Āṣaf al-Dawlah of Oudh (1188-1212) and after the death of that monarch served Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1212-1229).

4 and 5. Besides the *Qānūn*, two other medical books, one Burhān al-Dīn Nafīs 'Iwād al-Kirmānī's commentary, known as *al-Nafīsī*, on 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abu 'l-Ḥazm al-Qarshī's (d. 678/1279) abridgment, entitled *al-Mūjaz*, of the *Qānūn*, and the other the same commentator's commentary

on Najib al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Samarqandī's well-known work entitled *al-Asbāb wa 'l-'Alāmāt*, have attracted the attention of several Indian scholars and physicians who have written marginal glosses upon them. The former, i.e., *al-Nafīsī*, has been further commented upon by Ḥakīm A'ājib b. Mu'ālīj Khān, an Indian physician of the twelfth century of the *Hijra*, and by Ḥakīm Sharīf Khān of Delhi, a physician of Persian extraction, who settled in India and vied with the 'Alawī Khān, the celebrated physician of Muḥammad Shāh, in reputation as a successful medical practitioner and Arabic scholar.

6 and 7. Of the glosses on the *Sharḥ al-Asbāb wa 'l-'Alāmāt*, two deserve mention: one is *Kashf al-Ishkālāt* (كشف الاشكالات) by Muḥammad Hāshim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Aḥsan b. Muḥammad Afdal, (who received his education in mathematics and medicine from Ḥakīm 'Alī al-Jilānī and was appointed by Shāh-jahān as a teacher to ~~Awrangzib~~) and the other is *al-Fawā'id al-Sharīfiyyah* (الفوائد الشريفيه) by Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

Under the second heading there are four books worthy of notice:

1. *Al-Juz' al-'Amalī Min Akmal al-Ṣanā'ah* (الجزء العملي من اكمل الصنائع) by Ḥakīm Kāzīm, son of the Shī'ah *Mujtahid* named Ḥaydar 'Alī al-Najafī, an Indian physician (1149/1736) who was given the title of *Hādhiq al-Mulk*. This work is divided into an introduction (on evil or fatal symptoms), seven *Maqālahs* (on symptoms and treatments of local and general diseases) and a *Khātimah* (on weights and measures used in medicine). This work is noticed in the *Kashf al-Hujab wa 'l-Asfār* under the title of *Jāmi' al-Ṣanā'i'* which seems to be incorrect.*

* *Vide* Bānkīpūr Catalogue, IV, No. 84.

✓ 2. *Asrār al-Ilāj* (السرار العلاج) by Ḥakīm ‘Alī Sharīf of Lucknow, who received the title of *Ra’īs al-Atibbā’* from Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Lucknow. The value of this work may be judged from the following remark of a learned physician who compiled the Bānkipūr Catalogue Vol. IV.*

“The author throughout this treatise shows rare powers of criticism and original investigation such as are not generally to be met with in other eastern writers. This work strikingly depicts the methods of case-taking (*i.e.*, diagnosis), the mode of reasoning and the way of investigation peculiar to the Indian physicians of the 12th and 13th centuries A. H.”

3. *Ḥilyat al-Wāṣifīn wa Wishāḥ al-Ṭālibīn* (حلية الوصفين ووشاح الطالبين) by Muḥammad Mahdī b. ‘Alī Aṣghar b. Nūr Muḥammad Khān, Prime Minister of Naṣir al-Dīn Ḥaydar, king of Oudh, and pupil of ‘Alī Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

4. The *Qarābādīn-i-‘Alawī Khān* (قربادین عاوی خان) by Mu‘tamad al-Mulūk Ḥakīm Muḥammad Hāshim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Hādī, known as ‘Alawī Khān, the celebrated physician of the Mughal courts from the reign of Awrangzib down to Muḥammad Shāh’s time, when he was taken by Nādir Shāh to his capital but allowed soon to return to Delhi, where he died in 1749. The compiler of the Bānkipūr Catalogue IV remarks that this work reveals critical observation, originality and insight on the part of the author, and is a monumental representation of the mode of criticism, observation and adaptation practised by the Indian physicians.†

At the conclusion of this brief description of some of the Indian Arabic medical works, it may be added that Indian scholars of Arabic medicine were not simply

*Bānkipūr Catalogue, IV, No. 85.

†*Ibid.* IV, No. 107.

commentators and glossary writers. They have made new researches also, and have recorded the results in works such as the Qarābādīn of 'Alawī Khān, etc., of which the compiler of the Bānkipūr catalogue, well-versed in Arabian medicine, speaks in high terms. Professor Denison Ross is right in remarking that "they (Indian physicians) have done so much for the adaptation of the ancient system of medicine to their own surroundings and requirements." *

*Bānkipūr Catalogue, Vol. IV, Preface.

CHAPTER IX

Historical Literature

Arabic historical literature is so extensive and important that the producers of it may reasonably be proud. It is a production of several countries and not of Arabia alone. But we are here concerned with India only, and propose to examine under the present heading what she has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

As most works on history by Indian scholars are in Persian, those written in Arabic are very few and exceptional, whereas in Persian, Elliot has been able to give the titles of more than two hundred historical works written in this language, excluding biographies of poets, scholars and saints. Owing to the predominance of Arabic in the early centuries of Islam, religious, philosophical and scientific works were generally written in Arabic, even in Persia, Turkistān and Afghānistān; but it never achieved any success in those countries against Persian in the departments of poetry, light literature and history. Still less was the case in India.

Under the present heading there are fourteen works which may deserve mention. They may be arranged under the following heads:—

I. Pure History ...	...	4 works
II. Chronology ...	...	1 „
III. Lives of the Prophet	...	3 „
IV. Other Biographies	...	5 „
V. Travel ...	• ...	1 „
TOTAL		<hr/> 14 works.

I. *Pure History : Four Works.*

1. *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين), by Shaykh Zayn al-Bīn b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ma‘barī, whom we have met already in connection with his book, *Qurrat al-‘Ayn*, on *Fiqh*. This book is a historical account of the doings and proceedings of the Portuguese in Mālābār from the time of their first appearance in that country in the year 904/1498, up to the year 989/1581. The whole book is divided into four sections.

The first section deals with the Islamic injunctions regarding the holy war. The second dwells upon the first appearance and dissemination of Islām in Mālābār. The third is confined to a short account of the singular usages and customs of the infidels of the country, and the last section, forming the main part of the book to which the first three sections may be taken as an introduction, is further divided into fourteen sub-sections, called *Fuṣls*.

The value of this work may be judged from the fact that it was translated into English by Lieutenant Rowlandson as early as the year 1833, that is to say, a little less than a century back, and afterwards edited and rendered into Portuguese by David Lopes in 1898. As to the accuracy of this historical narration, it is sufficient to quote Lieutenant Rowlandson's remark upon it. He says:—"It is creditable to the author that the testimony of the western authors establishes the fidelity of his narrative, since besides a very minute and extraordinary agreement on many minor points of detail, in the relation of leading events, it is seldom found much at variance with their accounts." Moreover, the author of the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* has exercised his power of criticism and judgment in accepting traditions. For instance, while giving an account of the first appearance of Islām in the country of Mālābār, he has rejected the tradition current

among his Muslim countrymen, according to which the king of Mālābār, having been impressed by the miracle of the splitting of the moon, went to the Prophet himself and embraced Islām.

In addition to Zayn al-Dīn's narration of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese, there is another account of the same by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kālikūtī, who composed five hundred and three couplets on the subject, under the title of *al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn Li 'l-Sāmīrī Alladhī Yuhibb al-Muslimīn* (الفتح المبين لئلسامري الذي يحب المسلمين) (i.e., the conspicuous victory of Zamorin who loves the Muslims). This work will be further considered under the heading "Contribution of India to the Poetical Branch of Arabic Literature." Here it may be added that a comparison of these two works encourages belief in their trustworthiness.

2. *Al-'Ilām bi 'Ālām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* (الاعلام بآلام بيت الله الحرام) by Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nahrwālī. The father of the author left his native place for the Ḥijāz and settled at Makkah, where Quṭb al-Dīn was born in 917/1511. After completing his education at Makkah, he went to Egypt in 943/1536 where he pursued his studies further with the eminent scholars of that place. He soon attracted notice as a learned scholar. Later on, he was employed as a professor of theology at a college in Makkah, and was finally appointed a *muftī* there. He died in 990/1582. The present work is a comprehensive history of Makkah. It consists of an introduction, ten chapters, and an appendix. In the introduction the author enumerates his sources. He says that the oldest historian of Makkah is Abu 'l-Walid Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Arzaqī. The following list of the contents will show the value of the book:—

Chapter I. A Geographical account of Makkah and the Ka'bah

- Chapter II. An account of the foundation and construction of the *Ka'bah*.
- „ III. A description of *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* during the period of Ignorance and the early days of Islām.
- „ IV. An account of what was added to the *Masjid* by the 'Abbāsids.
- „ V. A special mention of the two additions made after the alteration initiated by Maṣṣūr and completed by his son Hādī, during the later period of the 'Abbāsids.
- „ VI. An account of the repairs done by the Jṛākisah.
- „ VII. An account of the *Masjid* during the 'Uthmānid period.
- „ VIII. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Salim I.
- „ IX. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Salim II.
- „ X. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Sultān Murād.
- Appendix An account of the sacred places of interest at Makkah.

In order to do full justice to the history of the *Ka'bah*, the author has given in outline the whole history of the Muslims from the time of the Prophet right down to his own days.

The importance of this work has been duly recognised by Western scholars, having been edited with earlier works of the same nature, by Wüstenfeld. But as the author, although of Indian blood, was born, bred and educated outside India, it is doubtful whether his work can claim to be placed with the contributions of India to Arabic literature. In reply, it may be urged that it is within the scope of the present thesis to include the works of those scholars

of Indian blood also who were born and flourished outside India.

3. *Al-Barq al-Yamānī fī 'l-Fath al-'Uthmānī* (البرق اليمني في الفتح العثماني), by the same author. This is a historical account of the events that took place in Yaman during the time of the author (*i.e.*, from the beginning of the tenth century to 978 A.H.) It consists of three *Bābs* and a *Khūtimah* (conclusion.) The first *Bāb*, divided into 13 *Faṣls* deals with the history of the kings of Yaman from the beginning of the tenth century of the *Hijra* up to the time when she was conquered by the 'Uthmānī Turks. The second *Bāb* (in 37 *Faṣls*) contains the history of the country from the time of its annexation by the 'Uthmānī Turks up to the reign of Sulaymān; the third (in 60 *Faṣls*) dwells on the history of the events that took place in Yaman during the reign of Sulṭān Salīm; and the *Khūtimah* (in 5 *Faṣls*) contains the account of the return of Sinān Pāshā to Egypt and of his conquest of Tūnis and Goletta.

4. A History of Gujarāt, entitled *Zafar al-Wāliḥ bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih* (ظفر الوالي بمظفر و آله), composed in the first decades of the 17th century by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Nahrwālī al-Āṣafī Ulugh Khānī, better known as Hājji Dabir, who flourished in the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the *Hijra*. The author was born in Makkah about 946/1540. He first went to India when a boy of sixteen years in 962/1555 and three years later entered the service of his first master Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, the Abyssinian, who was a prominent noble and general in Gujarāt serving 'Imād al-Mulk. In 980/1572, when Akbar entered Aḥmadābād, Ulugh Khān became a prisoner and our author was left without employment. In the following year he was appointed to carry the *Waqf* money from Gujarāt to Makkah and Madinah. In 983/1575 he was back in India and now in the service of

another Gujarāt noble named Sayf al-Mulk, and later on in that of Fawlād Khān, a leading noble of Khāndesh. The exact date of his death is not known, but he is known to have been living in 1020/1611.

This work is divided into two parts, called *Daftars*. The first *Daftar* deals with the history of the Muzaffarid kings of Gujarāt, who ruled from 799 to 980 A.H. (1396-1572 A.D.), and also of the rulers of Khāndesh and the Deccan; and the second *Daftar* contains the general history of all the various dynasties that ruled over Northern India from the 12th century to the sixteenth century A.D. It has been edited by the eminent orientalist, Professor Denison Ross, who was the first to realise the value of the work. This edition consists of three volumes, each with a scholarly introduction. "It will be seen," remarks the learned editor, "that this work is much more than a mere chronicle of the kings and that a larger portion of the (first) volume is devoted to digressions, historical, biographical and bibliographical, which carry the reader back to the early history of Islām on the one hand and forward to the beginning of the 17th century on the other." In another place Sir Denison Ross makes the following observation :—

"Although he was of Indo-Persian origin, his ancestors having fled from Persia to India at the time of the Tārtār invasion in the 13th century, his native language was Arabic and he tells us that he only learnt Persian some time after his arrival in India. These circumstances have a double bearing on the value of this work : first in respect of the style of the Arabic which, though often careless, is evidently the language of a man born and bred in Mecca; and secondly in respect of Indian and Persian proper names, which our author as a foreigner takes great care to spell correctly and in many cases to explain."

II. Chronology: One Work.

There is one book that deserves notice under the present heading. It is *al-Nūr al-Sāfir ‘an Akhbār al-Qarn al-‘Ashir* (النور السافر عن اخبار القرن العاشر), written by Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Aydārūs of Aḥmadābād. He was a member of the noble family of ‘Aydārūs of Yaman. His father went to India in 958/1551 and settled in Aḥmadābād, where our author was born in 978/1570, his mother being an Indian slave-girl, presented to his father by some of his disciples. He received his education from eminent scholars both of Yaman and India. He was a distinguished Ṣūfī, an eminent scholar, and a prolific writer. He has left about a score of works. This work is, as indicated by its very title, a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the *Hijra*. Similar works of early writers, e.g., *al-Durrat al-Kāminah fi ‘l-Qarn al-Thāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar and *al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi fi ‘l-Qarn al-Tāsi’* by al-Sakhāwī, are well known. The present work is a continuation of the same scheme, with a slight difference in the plan and scope. Both the early works just mentioned are confined to short biographical notes on secular and religious worthies who died in the eighth and ninth centuries respectively, these names being arranged in alphabetical and not in chronological order, while the work under consideration deals chronologically not only with the biographical accounts of men of rank and letters but with political and social events as well. In short, this work is a valuable member of that very useful biographical series of which *al-Durr al-Kāminah* and *al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi’* form the earlier volumes, while later works such as *Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, *Silk al-Durar* and *‘Ajāib al-Āthār* are succeeding links. It may also be mentioned here that besides *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* several works of the same type relating more or less to the same period have been written by different authors, of which works

al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi Manāqib 'Ulamā' al-Mī'at al-'Ashirah (الكواكب السائرة بمناقب علماء المائة العاشرة) is worthy of notice.

As this work has not yet been published, a rather full account of the book may not be out of place here.

The author tells us in his preface that he has mentioned in this work the dates of all those scholars, saints, Qādis, kings and grandees, whether of Egypt, Syria, Hījāz, Yaman, Rūm or India, and has added accounts of some events and curious stories and witticisms. He admits that he could not mention all the events that took place in this century, owing to his ignorance of them. Being conscious of the fact that he has omitted much more than he has recorded, he says, by way of apology for the composition of such an incomplete work, that what cannot be fully mentioned should not be left altogether untouched.

To the main chronology he has, by way of invoking divine blessings, prefixed a short biographical account of the Prophet. Then he starts his chronology from the year 901/1495 and concludes it in the year 1000/1591. He has given biographical notes on a large number of scholars of whom the following may be mentioned here:—

1. Al-Sakhāwī, author of the well-known but very rare work, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, who died in 902/1496.
2. The celebrated Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī who died in 911/1506.
3. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh, great-grandfather of the author (died in 919/1513).
4. Ibn Suwaydā', an eminent *Muḥaddith* of his age, who was attached to the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt, who conferred upon him the title of *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn* (king of traditionists). He died in 919/1513.

5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭalānī, author of the famous encyclopædic biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*, who died in 923/1517. In the note on this scholar, the author relates that Suyūṭī and Qaṣṭalānī were not on good terms with each other, as the former had this grievance against the latter that Qaṣṭalānī used to quote from his work without giving any reference to his name. When Suyūṭī was on his deathbed, Qaṣṭalānī went to him and knocked at his door, whereupon he asked who the intruder might be. Qaṣṭalānī told who he was, and added that he had gone to see him bare-footed and bare-headed in order to be reconciled to him. The dying scholar answered that he had been reconciled, but did not open the door.
6. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī, an eminent scholar of his age whom the author mistakenly states to have died in 928/1521, whereas he had passed away twenty years earlier.
7. Muzajjad, author of the well-known book on the *Shafi'i Fiqh*, entitled *al-'Uḡāb*.
8. Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī, a learned man and poet who went to India and joined the court of Sultān Muzaḥfar of Gujarāt for whom he wrote a biography of the Prophet under the title of *Tabṣīrat al-Ḥaḍrat al-Shkāhiyyat al-Aḥmadiyyah bi Sīrat al-Ḥaḍrat al-Nabawiyyat al-Aḥmadiyyah* (تبصير الحضرة الشاهية الاحمدية بسيرة الحضرة النبوية الاحمدية).
9. Ibn al-Ḥajar al-Haythamī, author of the *Sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ*, etc., who died in 974-1566.
10. 'Alī Muttaqī, an Indian scholar of name and fame whom we have known already. He died in 975/1567.

11. Under the year 978/1570, in which the author was born, he gives a detailed account of his birth, education and works. He frankly admits that his mother was an Indian slave-girl who bore no other child save himself.
12. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, already known to us, who rightly held the title of "the king of the Indian traditionists." He died in 986/1578.
13. 'Abd al-Nabī, an eminent scholar of the court of Akbar, who was afterwards condemned by the Emperor. He died in 990/1582.
14. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, noticed already. He was a good poet also. Five long poems of his are given in this book.
15. Ḥakīm Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shams al-Dīn Sindī who was attached to the royal court of Gujarāt. The author relates here a curious story. A certain king sent Sulṭān Maḥmūd some valuable presents, one of which was a beautiful girl, whom Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed on one of his ministers. Before the minister touched the girl, the physician happened to feel her pulse. He at once announced that the girl had been fed and bred in such a poisonous way that whosoever had intercourse with her was sure to die. Presently an experiment was made, and, to the bewilderment of those who were present there, the statement was proved correct. Being asked the reason for this phenomenon, the physician explained that her mother, whilst pregnant, had been fed on poisonous herbs.

So much for the more important of those learned and literary persons whom our author has mentioned in his chronology. As for the kings and worldly dignitaries

noticed in the same, the following names are worthy of note :—

1. Qā'it-Bey, Sultān of Egypt, who died in 901/1495.
2. Maḥmūd b. Maḥammad, king of Gujarāt who died in 916/1510.
3. Muẓaffar Shāh II king of Gujarāt (d. 932/1526)
4. Bahādur Shāh „ „ (d. 943/1536)
5. Maḥmūd Shāh II „ „ (d. 961/1553)
6. Aḥmad Shāh II „ „ (d. 967/1559)
7. Khudāwand Khān (d. 968/1560)
8. Qutb Shāh Sultān of Golkandah (d. 990/1582)

As to the political events mentioned in the book, the following items may be given here :—

1. Humāyūn's attack upon Gujarāt and how Bahādur Shāh was defeated through the treachery of Muṣṭafā Bahrām.
2. Āṣaf Khān's return from Makkah and his filling the post of Wizārat until he and his master were both killed in 961/1553.
3. The capture of Diu by the Portuguese in 961/1553.
4. Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt in 980/1572. About Akbar the author says that he was a just king but at the same time inclined towards the heretics; he then remarks *Wa fi 'l-Ishārah mā Yuḡhnī 'Ani 'l-Kalām*, that is, "a hint is enough and no more need be said."
5. An account of Aḥmadābād and of its founder.
6. Muẓaffar b. Maḥmūd's recapture of Aḥmadābād, Barwaj and Barodah, after he had defeated the Mughal army in 991/1583 and his loss of them in the following year.

Besides the biographical notices and the brief accounts of certain political events, we find interesting

digressions as well, of which the following are worthy of mention :—

1. Geographical and historical accounts of Ḥaḍramawt, Aḥqāf, Sabā, *Iram Dhāt al-Imād*, the grave of Ṣāliḥ the prophet, the grave of Hūd, etc.
2. A discussion on the possibility of miracles.
3. An account of the occurrences of earthquake and fire at Aden in 914/1508.
4. A discourse on Coffee.

As the author, being himself a poet, took much interest in poetry, we find that his book contains many beautiful extracts from the poetry of those scholars and poets whom he has mentioned. Moreover, being in constant touch with Southern Arabia, he has much to say about the political affairs of Aden, Ḥaḍramawt and Yaman.

As regards the accuracy of the dates, it may be said that it is difficult to question it except in one place, where he is obviously wrong. He mentions Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī as having died in 928, while the correct date of his death is 908. In two or three places I have noticed that dates given by him slightly differ from those given by Lane-Poole in his *Muḥammadan Dynasties*. For instance, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, king of Gujarāt, died in 916 according to our author, while Lane-Poole puts this even one year later. The year of Aḥmad Shāh's death, according to the *Nūr al-Sāfir*, is 967, while according to Lane-Poole it is 969.*

It may be noted that a scholar named Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī (d. 1093/1682) wrote a.

* Firishtah and E. de Zambaur give the same dates as Lane-Poole. But according to Hājji Dabīr, Aḥmad Shāh was killed in 967 as stated in *Al-Nur al-Sāfir* and not in 969. (*Vide Zāfar al-Wāliḥ bi Muzaffar wa Alih, Vol. II, 478*).

supplement to this work under the title of *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir bi Takmil al-Nūr al-Sāfir*. Al-Shilli does not question the accuracy of the *Nūr al-Sāfir*, and regards it as a useful and valuable work. The necessity for writing a supplement, as he himself says, arose from the fact that the author of the original book omitted many noteworthy persons.

As regards the style and Arabic of the book, one may safely say that it is lucid, simple and straightforward. The work was completed on Friday the 12th of Rabi' al-Thāni, 1012/1603.

This brief account may be concluded with this remark that the *Nūr al-Sāfir* is a useful chronological work and deserves to be edited on western scientific lines. The *Durrat al-Kāminah*, the first link in this biographical series, is being edited by Mr. Krenkow. The MSS. of the *Daio' al-Lāmi'* are very rare and defective. Then comes this work with its supplement *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*; and the succeeding links have already been published.

III. Biographies of the Prophet: Two Works.

1. *Ithāf al-Hadrat al-'Azīzah li 'Uyūn al-Sīrat al-Wajīzah* (انتخاب الحضرة العزيزة لعين السيرة الوجيزة) by Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, the author of the *Nūr al-Sāfir*. It is a short biography of the Prophet and his companions. There is nothing special about this work, except that the narration is lucid, concise, and almost free from unhistorical statements such as are generally found in works written by Ṣūfis and mystic writers. It consists of two parts and an appendix. The first part deals with the biography of the Prophet in four chapters. The second part, divided into ten chapters, contains the short biographies of those ten companions of the Prophet who were assured by him that they would enter Paradise. The *Khātimah* (concluding

portion) deals with the merits and excellences of the companions of the Prophet.

2. The other Arabic biography of the Prophet written in India, worthy of notice, is *al-Sīrat al-Muḥammadiyyah* (السيرة المحمدية), composed by Karāmat 'Alī b. Fāḍil Muḥammad Ḥayāt 'Alī. It is a voluminous work containing six hundred closely lithographed pages of 15 inch size, with 35 lines in each page, and was composed shortly before the Mutiny. It was written under the royal patronage of the Nizām of Ḥaydarābād, to whom it was dedicated. It is not a mere compilation. The author has taken pains in examining and weighing all the traditions and events recorded. It cannot be called a critical work, according to the modern standard of investigation, but at the same time it does not contain those *Ḥadīth* which are considered to be false by Muslim scholars themselves. He exercised his own critical judgment in dealing with controversial points. The concluding part of the work contains a short history of the rightly directed Caliphs.

On the biography of the Prophet a large number of books have been written, among which the voluminous work entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah* by Al-Qaṣṭalānī (923/1517) is perhaps the most important from the Muslim standpoint, but the biography under consideration supersedes it as far as accuracy and critical judgment are concerned. 'Alī 'Abbās Chiryākotī, a contemporary scholar and a worthy teacher of a worthy pupil, such as Mawlānā Shibli, has written a long Arabic poem in praise of the book, of which this couplet may be quoted here:—

لا تعجبوا أن علا كتب الذين مضوا فإن للخير معنى ليس في العنب

(Do not wonder if the book has surpassed the books of the previous writers, because wine possesses a merit which the grape does not). The poet means to say that, just as wine excels the grapes of which it is made, so this book

surpasses all the works from which it has drawn its materials. This second hemistich has been adopted in this verse from a couplet of al-Mutanabbī.

IV. Other Biographical Works: Five.

1. *Al-Rawḍ al-Nādir fī man Ismuhū ‘Abd al-Qādir* (الروض النادر في من اسمه عبد القادر) by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Aydārūs, already noticed. It contains, as indicated by its very title, biographical notices of those Muslim religious and secular worthies who were named ‘Abd al-Qādir. It is, so far as is known to the writer of the present thesis, the first book of its kind. It contains short biographies of about 40 persons named ‘Abd al-Qādir.

2. *Zahr al-Riyāḥ wa Zulāl al-Ḥiyāḥ* (زهو الرياح وزلال الحياض) by al-Hasan b. ‘Alī b. Shadqam. The author was an ‘Arab and was born at Madinah, but in his youth he went to India and attached himself to the Nizām Shāhī House of Ahmadnagar. One of the kings gave him his daughter in marriage and thus he rose to a high position, but the fall of the house reduced his circumstances and he had to leave India for Arabia, although he soon returned. The date of his death is not known. He was a learned man and a poet. The *Sulāfat al-‘Aṣr* contains a biographical note on him, with a specimen of his poetry. Besides the present work, he was the author of another work entitled *al-Jawāhir al-Nizāmiyyah*.

• The work under consideration is a large biographical dictionary, alphabetically arranged and written in a simple easy style. Though it is a sort of compilation, or perhaps an abridgment of previous works, such as the *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, etc., from which the compiler has taken most of his material, with a few additions from other sources, its value must not be underrated, for besides biographical notes, it contains many digressions of historical, geographical and literary interest.

3. *Sulāfat al-‘Aṣr fī Maḥāsin al-Shu‘arā’ bi Kull Miṣr* (سلافة العصر في محاسن الشعراء بكل مصر) by al-Sayyid ‘Alī Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Nizām b. Ma‘ṣūm, generally known as Sayyid ‘Alī Khān or Ibn Ma‘ṣūm. The author was a descendant of the eminent philosopher Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī. He was born in Madīnah in 1052/1642 and while a boy of sixteen, joined his father Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, who stood high in the favour of Sultān ‘Abd Allāh Qutb Shāh at Ḥaydarābād. A year after the death of that king (1083/1672) he lost his father and was imprisoned by the new Sultān Abu ‘l-Ḥasan, but he managed somehow or other to escape and reached the court of ‘Ālamgir, who received him with favour, conferred upon him the title of Khān under the name of Ṣayyid ‘Alī, and appointed him to the Diwānī of Burhānpūr. Towards the end of his life he left India for Persia, and settled at Shīrāz where he died in 1117/1705. He was an eminent man of letters, well-versed in poetical art and *belles lettres*, and was the author of several compositions.

The present work, like the *Nūr al-Sāfir*, already reviewed, is a link in an important biographical series of poets, started by Tha‘ālibī* (429/1037) some six centuries back in the form of the compilation of his well-known *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and carried on by later writers, al-Bākhārzi (467/1074) and Iṣfahānī (597/1200) under the title of *Dumyat ul-Qaṣr* and *Kharīdat al Qaṣr* respectively. As a matter of fact, the present work is a supplement to a similar work entitled *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā’* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khafājī, who died in 1069/1658. The author tells us in the preface that for a long time it had been an earnest desire of his to contribute to the literary

*Tha‘ālibī is said to have followed the lines laid down by Hārūn b. ‘Alī (d. 288/900) in his book “*Al-Bārī*” (البارع). Vide Khalīfah, II, 4.

world something about the poetical geniuses of his time (i.e., the 11th century) on the lines of the *Yatīmat al-Dahr* and *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, but various obstacles stood in his way, until he happened to get hold of a copy of the *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā'* which he liked very much as it was compiled on almost the same plan as he himself was aspiring to follow. He found no fault with this work, except that the author of the *Rayḥānah* omitted many poetical worthies. To make up for this deficiency, he at once sat down to compile the present work, which in the first place deals with those eminent and distinguished poets of the eleventh century whom the author of the *Rayḥānah* missed out, and in the second place fills a small gap of 13 years that lies between the date of *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafāji's* death and that of the compilation of the *Sulāḥ*, which the author himself gives as 1082/1671. Moreover, our author mentions again some of those poets whom *al-Khafāji* has included, but with this restriction that *Ibn Ma'sūm* does not repeat those verses which *al-Khafāji* had quoted.

This work contains the following sections :—

Section I. Poets of Makkah and Madinah.

„ II. Poets of Syria and Egypt.

„ III. Poets of Yaman.

„ IV. Poets of 'Ajam, 'Irāq and Baḥrayn.

„ V. Poets of Maghrib.

Altogether one hundred and twenty-four poets have been noticed, of whom some half a dozen are Indians or connected with India. This book is not merely an anthology but a biographical work as well. Its biographical notices are generally longer and more detailed than those of the *Yatīmah* or *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*. But it is to be regretted that the style is ornate and flowery, and this considerably mars its utility.

4. *Al-Parajāt al-Rafī'ah fī al-Ṭabaqāt al-Imāmiyyah Min al-Shī'ah* by the same author, is a collection of the lives of the eminent men who held the Shī'ah faith from the very beginning of Islām to the time of the author, *i.e.*, the early part of the eleventh century of the *Hijra*.

The author states in the preface that as there was no similar work in existence, he felt the necessity of compiling a book dealing with the lives of the eminent Shī'ahs. About Nūr Allāh Shustarī's *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* which exactly covers the same scope, he remarks that in the first place Nūr Allāh has mistakenly included among the Shī'ites many persons who were not really such, and in the second place, that the work is in Persian and not in Arabic.

This book is divided into twelve parts, called *Ṭabaqāt*. The first *Ṭabaqah*, which deals with the companions of the Prophet, consists of four *Muqaddimah* (introduction) and two chapters. As this work has not yet been published, a full list of the contents may not be undesirable.

The first *Ṭabaqah* :

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. | Introduction | Definition of a Ṣaḥābī. |
| II. | „ | The position of a Ṣaḥābī. |
| III. | „ | Classification of the companions: <i>Maqbūl</i> and <i>Mardūd</i> . |
| IV. | „ | Regarding those companions who joined 'Ali at the end. |
| I. | Chapter | Hāshimite companions. |
| II. | „ | Other companions. |

The subject-matter of the other *Ṭabaqah* is as follows :

The second *Ṭabaqah* The *Tābi'ūn* (companions of the Prophet's companions).

The third „ Those *Muḥaddithūn* who received *Ḥadīth* directly from the Imāms.

The fourth „ All the scholars and theological doctors.

The fifth	<i>Ṭabaqah</i>	The philosophers and scholastic theologians.
The sixth	„	The scholars of Arabic literature.
The seventh	„	Ṣūfis.
The eighth	„	Emperors and kings.
The ninth	„	Nobles.
The tenth	„	Ministers.
The eleventh	„	Poets.
The twelfth	„	Women.

As far as one can gather from all the published catalogues of the libraries, the Berlin Library alone contains a manuscript of this work* and that is incomplete, having only two *Ṭabaqāt* (the first and fourth) out of the twelve.

5. *Subḥat al-Marjān fī Āthār Hindūstān* (سبحة المرجان في آثار هندستان) by Sayyid Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī.† The author was a member of the house of the Wāsiṭi Sayyids, settled in Bilgrām, and was born in 1116/1704. His father had held for seven years the appointment of *Nā’ib* in Bhakar and Sistān, and Āzād himself acted as *Nā’ib* in the latter place from 1142 to 1147/1734. In 1150/1737 he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah where he stayed for two years, in the course of which he completed his studies of *Ḥadīth* with Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sindī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. After his return to India, he settled in Awrangābād where he stood very high in the favour of Nizām al-Dawlah Nāsir Jang and his brothers from whom he never accepted any office. He died in 1200/1785. He was an eminent scholar, well versed in all branches of Muslim learning. He learnt the art of poetry from his maternal grandfather, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. He is the only Indian poet

* Berlin, No. 10050.

† European writers generally spell ‘Bilgrām’ as ‘Balgram’, but this is incorrect. The late Sayyid ‘Alī Bilgrāmī used to spell the word with an *ī*.

who left seven *Diwāns* of Arabic poetry. He was the author of several works both in Arabic and in Persian.

The subject-matter of this book is, as indicated by its title, India. It is divided into four chapters, the first of which deals with the excellence and eminence of India and with the references to that country in the Qur'ānic commentaries and *Hadith*. The author has quoted many *Hadith* and remarks of the commentators on the Qur'ān relating the story of Adam and Eve being thrown down from Paradise on the mountain named after Adam in Ceylon.

The second chapter is devoted to the biographical sketches of Indian Muslim scholars and learned men. This chapter is the most important in the whole book. It contains 43 biographical notices arranged almost in chronological order. He begins this chapter with a short account of Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī', one of the *Taba' Tābi'in*, who went to Sind and died there in 160/776, and concludes it with an account of himself. This work is not only one of the most important sources of the present thesis, but also of all the later similar works, such as the *Abjad al-'Ulūm* and the *Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind*. The author wrote another book of the same nature but in Persian, under the title of *Ma'athir al-Kirām*, which, though chiefly intended to deal with the biographies of the eminent scholars and saints of Bilgrām, the native place of the author, contains one hundred and fifty short notices of the scholars of other parts of India also.

The third chapter of the *Subḥat al-Marjān* is on rhetoric and sets forth the beauties of prose and poetry. In this chapter the author has shown some originality which will be discussed later on in connection with philology and rhetoric.

The fourth chapter is on love, from both the Indian and the Arabian standpoint.

The first chapter really comprises a separate work of the same author, entitled *Shammāmat al-'Anbar* but he has incorporated it into the present work also.

V. *Travel: One Work.*

There is only one Arabic work of travel, the credit of which may be given to India, as it was written by a scholar who, though a foreigner, lived the greater part of his life in India. The title of this travel-book is *Salwat al-Gharīb fī Uswat al-Adīb*, and the name of the author is Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'sūm, already noticed as the author of the *Sulāfah*. In this work the author gives a detailed account of his journey from Makkah to Gulkandah at the call of his father who was already there in the service of the king of Gulkandah, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The author, while still a boy of tender age, left Makkah on Sha'bān 6th, 1066/1655, and reached his destination after three years on Rabī' al-Awwal 22nd, 1069/1658. The work we are considering was completed thirteen years later.

It is an interesting work from three points of view—geographical, biographical and purely literary. Among matters of geographical interest, besides a short geography of India, taken from Mas'ūdi, it contains information concerning al-Bayḍā', al-Sa'diyyah, al-Qanfadhah—an ancient port of Makkah now replaced by Jiddah—Bandar al-Laḥya, Makrān, Bandar Mukhā, Chitāpūr, Rājpur, Bijāpūr, Gulgarg and Gulkandah. The author also dwells on certain special characteristics of seas, ambergris, fishes, Indian vegetables (such as spices, cocoanut, mango, betel and sugar-cane) and Indian animals (such as parrots, peacocks and elephants). While speaking of the last-mentioned animal, he removes some wrong notions that prevailed

among the people. He says that the trunk of an elephant is hollow and not solid, that its cry is not like that of a human infant, as generally believed; that the animal can sit down, and that the generative organ of the she-elephant lies, like that of other animals, between her hinder legs and not between her forelegs.

Among matters of biographical interest, the following items may be mentioned here :—

1. A short account of the ancient Hindū kings and the Hindū religion, taken from the works of previous writers, chiefly from those of Mas'ūdī, and also an account of Humāyūn.

2. Short accounts of Arabian scholars attached to the court of the king of Gulkandah.

3. A description of the Muḥarram mourning of the people of the Deccan.

4. A description of the royal marriage of Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn, the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs.

As to the matters of purely literary interest, this work is so full of them that it may be said that the book is a work of a literary nature rather than of a geographical or biographical only. Being a man of poetical talents and of a highly literary turn of mind, the author could not write a book even on travel without embellishing it rather to the extreme, with digressions and observations which, though important from a purely literary standpoint, had nothing to do with the main theme. From the literary point of view the book is so interesting that it is difficult for a reader of literary tastes to leave it unfinished when he has once begun it. Of the literary matters the following are important :—

1. Complaints against the hardness of the time and how unfavourable and antagonistic it is to the learned and men of letters.

2. Lamentations upon being away from home.

3. The merits and demerits of travel : a sort of debate, representing the opposite points of view about travel, about which quotations from the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and other sayings are given.

4. A pathetic description of a departure from Makkah. Many beautiful verses are given here and there.

5. Literary and intellectual witticisms concerning money, fish, coffee, wind, the wonders of the sea, a sea voyage, a boat, a parrot, an elephant, etc. About coffee he relates an interesting story. Once a certain godly man said, in reply to a certain Turkish officer who had prohibited the drinking of coffee : " It cannot be condemned." Being asked the reason, he rejoined : " Because the numerical value of the word *Qāhwah* is exactly equal to that of *al-Qawiyy*, one of the names of God."

About the elephant he has given many similes. One may be quoted here :

هذا هو الفيل الذي يبدو العجيب لنا
ليل قد انقوس النهار فبان في انبائه

(This elephant with his wonderful tusks is like a night that has preyed upon the day and so it is seen in its teeth).

6. Verses from the poetry of many poets whom he happened to meet during his travels.

The work is not yet published. The only MS. known to be existing is in the Berlin Library.*

* Berlin No. 6136.

CHAPTER X

Philology

The contribution of India to the philological branch of Arabic literature may be discussed under three heads, *viz.*, Grammar, Lexicography, and Rhetoric.

Grammar.

Though it is true that the art of original composition on Arabic Grammar reached its zenith about the end of the seventh century, so that after Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359), the last of the four famous grammarians (the other three being Zamakhsharī, the author of the *Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Hājib, the author of the *Kāfiyah*, and Ibn Mālīk, the author of the *Alfiyyah*), no Muslim succeeded in producing a grammatical work on original lines, based on researches of his own, yet students of Arabic grammar did not remain idle in later periods, and what they achieved is by no means insignificant.

The first book on grammar that may be mentioned here in connection with the contribution of India to this branch of Arabic literature is a commentary, entitled *Ta'liq al-Parā'id* (تأليق الغرائد), on Ibn Mālīk's *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa Takmil al-Maqāsid*, composed by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar al-Damāminī, an eminent scholar and grammarian of Egypt, who, during the latter part of his life, was attracted to India by the royal patronage of one of her princes. The author wrote this work at Cambay in Gujarāt where he arrived in 820/1417 and dedicated it to Sultān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujarāt (814-846).

The second work is by the same author, a commentary entitled *al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi* (المنهل الصافي), on Muḥammad b.

‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar Balkhī’s *Wāfī*. The author wrote this commentary for another king of the same name, *i.e.*, Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (825-838), in 825/1421 when he was on the way to Aḥsanābād (Gulbarg).

The third book is the same author’s commentary, entitled *Tuḥfat al-Gharīb* (تحفة الغريب), on Ibn Hishām’s *Mughnī al-Lālib*. This commentary was composed in 824/1421, when the author was in Nahrwālah. All these three works produced by one and the same author under the patronage of the Indian princes and in India are of high value. Suyūṭī speaks highly of the author in his work *Bughyat al-Wu‘āt*.

Next to these three works comes an Arabic syntax entitled *al-Irshād* or *Irshād al-Nāḥi*, (ارشاد الناحي or ارشاد), composed by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī. He was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan during the latter half of the eighth century of the *Hijra*. He completed his studies at Delhi with Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Muqtadir and Mawlānā Khwājagī, eminent scholars of Delhi in those days. When Timūr invaded the Indian Metropolis, Mawlānā Khwājagī and Shihāb al-Dīn had to leave for some other place. The teacher settled in a village called Kālpī and the pupil went so far as Jawnpūr, where Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (804-844/1400-1440) received him with honour and made him Qāḍī. The king further showed his appreciation of the newly-made Qāḍī’s abilities and learning by bestowing upon him the dignified title of *Malik al-‘Ulamā’*, which the recipient rightly deserved. He was the author of many works, and died in or before the year 849/1445.

Al-Irshād is a text-book on Arabic syntax and is superior to the celebrated *Kūfiyah* of Ibn Ḥājib, in the opinion of Indian scholars.* Apart from all those qualities which make it a good *Matn* (text-book), it has a strange

* See Wakīl Aḥmad’s *Akhbār-i-Nuhāt*, p. 119.

characteristic which no other book on Grammar (and this peculiarity is possible only in books on Grammar) possesses ; this has been well explained in the author's own words. He says : •

و تيسر لى بتيسير الله ايراد النظير لاحكامه فى ضمن التعبير مثلت لكل حكم
تمثيلا ينطاق بعبارة او بعبارة ما سبق او سبق -

(With the help of God it has been easy for me to set down instances of rules in words which embody the very definition of each. I have illustrated each rule by an example which fits in with the very words of the rule or with the preceding or following phrases and sentences.)

This peculiarity may be illustrated by a similar definition in English of a pronoun, *viz.*, "A pronoun is a word which is used in place of a noun." Here the very definition of a pronoun contains an example of one, *viz.*, 'which.'

To write a text-book maintaining this odd peculiarity throughout is no easy task. Yet the author of the *Irshād* has successfully overcome the difficult restrictions which he voluntarily, though pedantically, imposed upon himself. A few examples are given below :—

من الحروف الجارة من التي يراد منها ابتداء لغاية في المكان او ما يرجع
من البيان و البدل لاصاق الشي بالشي و على لا ستعلاء الشي على الشي و في لوقوع
معنى الفعل فى زمان و مكان و الى لبلوغ الشي الى غاية وعن البعد و المجاوزة
عن الشي و حتى اتصال شي حتى مثله و انكاف لكون الشي بشي آخر معاً -

Here is a corresponding passage from the *Kāfiyah* for comparison :—

فمن لا ابتداء و التبيين و البدل لالصاق و على الاستعلاء و فى للظرفية و
عن المجاوزة و انكاف للتبعية -

This comparison of corresponding passages from the two works gives at once a clear idea of the characteristic of the *Irshād*.

Though the *Irshād* does not enjoy the wide reputation and publicity of the *Kāfiyah*, yet a careful comparison between the two works shows that the *Irshād* is the better of the two in the arrangement and treatment of the subject. Its peculiarity of illustrating a rule with the very words of its description has rendered it briefer and more comprehensive than the *Kāfiyah*. The reputation and popularity of the latter are due to the fact that it was written among an Arabic-speaking people and at a time when there was no such text-book in existence, while the *Irshād* was written in India where Arabic was never spoken (except on its western coasts and even that for a short time only), and at a time when several text-books had been composed. Though the well-known saying of the East that a second impression always excels the first, decides in favour of the *Irshād*, yet it cannot deprive the *Kāfiyah* of the superiority given to it by another equally well-known proverb, to wit, *al-Faḥl Li 'l-Mutaqaddim*. Hājji Khalīfah speaks of the *Irshād* in the following terms :—

هو متن لطيف تعمق في تهذيبه كل التعمق و نائق في ترتيبه حق النائق -

(It is a fine text-book for the systematising of which the author has made best use of his careful thinking, and for the elegance of the arrangement of which he did what could be done.)

This *Irshād* has been commented upon by several scholars. Hājji Khalīfah mentions the name of Abu al-Faḍl al-Khaṭīb Kāzrūnī, who was one of the teachers of Mubārak, father of Abu 'l-Faḍl, who speaks highly of him (al-Khaṭīb) in the *Ā'in-Akbarī*. Brockelmann gives two other names, but they are not Indian. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī, an eminent Indian scholar of Jahāngir's time, also wrote a commentary upon it.

Shihāb al-Dīn wrote also a commentary on the *Kāfiyah*, which is known as the *Sharḥ al-Hindī* (شرح الحندي) and

has been further commented upon by no less than four scholars, as Ḥājji Khalifah says. The *Sharḥ al-Hindī* is one of the most important commentaries on the *Kāfiyah* (the others being one by Raḍī al-Dīn and one by the famous poet of Persia, Jāmī.) Jāmī is said to have written his commentary in response to an impetus he received from an Indian scholar. The story says that one of Jāmī's sons went to India, and a certain scholar there asked him who he was, and receiving the reply, remarked contemptuously, "Oh, I see! You are the son of Jāmī, the poet." For a poet has never been esteemed by scholars. When Jāmī heard the story, he at once resolved to prove his scholarly abilities, and so he composed his commentary. When this learned work was brought to India, the same scholar, after examining it, made the observation that there was nothing new in it and that it was based on the *Sharḥ al-Hindī*.*

The truth of the story may be doubted, but there is no doubt about the fact that save for the discussion on *Ḥāsil wa Maḥṣūl* which the *Sharḥ-i-Jāmī* contains, there is not much difference between the two commentaries. Jāmī must have kept the *Sharḥ al-Hindī* before him while composing his own commentary. If this remark of Ḥājji Khalifah that† these two commentaries (Shihāb al-Dīn's and Jāmī's) supplied materials for the well-known Turkish commentary on the *Kāfiyah*, does not shed sufficient light on this inference that both the Arabic commentaries are similar, it does, however, sufficiently prove the value of the *Sharḥ al-Hindī*.

In short, Shihāb al-Dīn wrote two works on Arabic syntax: one a text-book and the other a commentary. His text-book, if it does not really excel the *Kāfiyah*, is

* Wakīl Ahmad, *Akhbār-i-Nuhāt*, p. 125.

† Khalīfah, V. 12.

certainly a serious rival to this book, while his *Sharḥ* has been a source and basis for one of the best commentaries on the *Kāfiyah*. Apart from the already noticed three grammatical works, composed by Al-Damāminī, if only these two books by Shihāb al-Dīn had been produced in India, even then the contribution of this non-Arabic speaking country to the grammatical section of Arabic literature would have been worthy of attention. But we find that several other works have been composed in India. ‘Abd al-Rashīd Jawnpurī, already noticed, was the author of two works on Grammar: one, *Tadhkirat ul-Naḥw* (تذكرة النحو), and the other, *Bidāyat al-Naḥw* (بداية النحو). The latter book has a peculiarity of its own. All the instances given in this work have been taken from *Fiqh*. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm of Sialkot wrote two extensive super-commentaries on Jāmī’s commentary: one is the complement of the unfinished super-commentary by ‘Abd al-Ghafūr, the pupil of Jāmī, on the *Sharḥ-i-Jāmī*, and the other is a gloss on this super-commentary of ‘Abd al-Ghafūr. Both these super-commentaries have been published in Constantinople. In addition to the works mentioned above, several other books on Grammar have been written in India (*vide* the Appendix), of which the commentary of Shihāb al-Dīn’s pupil, Ṣafī b. Naṣīr, entitled *Ghāyūt al-Taḥqīq* (غايات التحقيق), on the *Kāfiyah*, may be mentioned here. Ḥājji Khalifah speaks highly of it.

Before this account of the works on Arabic grammar produced in India is concluded, a rather curious treatise by ‘Alī Mahā’imī, whom we have known, may be mentioned here. It is not exactly a grammar, but it deals with the grammatical analysis of the opening verse of the *Sūrah Baqarah*: (ذالک الکتاب العربیہ). In this small book the learned author has worked out 128,344,524 different ways of analysing this small collection of a few words. This work is not known to be still in existence. Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād has given a fairly long extract from it in his *Subḥat al-Marjān*. This

wonderful grammatical achievement of an Indian scholar may also go to prove that India has not failed in producing scholars well versed in Arabic learning.

Lexicography.

As to the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography, we find that three of the first class Arab dictionaries are works of scholars, connected with India in some way or the other. One of them is of foreign origin, but his father settled at Lahore, where he was born, and hence he is called Lahorī or Hindī. The second is a genuine foreigner, but he paid two visits to India and received royal patronage from the king of Delhi. The third is a native of India, was born in India, and received his early education here, and then went abroad in pursuit of knowledge, to shine eventually like the sun in the sky of Arabic learning.

The first is Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Saghānī al-Hindī (650/1252), who has already been noticed in the discussion on the contribution of India to Arabic literature and *Hadith*. He was a great traditionist and philologist and wrote a number of books. Some of his philological works may be mentioned here :—

1. *Al-'Ubāb* (العُباب), which is one of the standard dictionaries and which “after the *Muḥkam*, is the greatest of the lexicological works composed since the age of the *Siḥāḥ*, to the time of the author of the *Muzhir*, of those known to him.”* Nothing more need be said of this work, as it is too well-known to require any further remark.

2. *Takmilah wa Dhayl wa Ṣilah* (تكملة ، ذيل ، صلة); a sort of critical supplement to the *Siḥāḥ*. The first two parts are complete, but the third remained incomplete owing to the death of the author. It runs up to the section of the letter 'Ayn. In one of these parts the author

* Lane's preface to his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. XV.

rectifies the mistakes made by the author of the *Siḥāḥ*, and in another he has collected those words of importance which the *Siḥāḥ* does not contain. Neither of these tasks is easy or ordinary in any way, because to write a new dictionary is not so difficult as to criticise it, to point out its mistakes, and to supply its omissions, just as Dozy's Arabic dictionary supplies such deficiencies.

3. The third work of Ṣaghānī with which we are here concerned is the *Kitāb al-Aḍḍād* (كتاب الأضداد), which deals with words of opposite meanings. It is a small but useful treatise. One of the characteristics of the Arabic language is that it has many words which express two opposite meanings. For example, the word *Bayʿ* means both 'buying' and 'selling', the word *Ṣarīm* means both 'day' and 'night', and the word *Masīḥ* signifies "Christ" and also "Anti-Christ" (Dajjāl). This tract contains all such words arranged in alphabetical order.

4. *Kitāb al-Dhiʿb* (كتاب الذئب). Another feature of the Arabic language is its large number of synonymous words. In Arabic, for instance, there are 21 words for 'light', 52 for 'darkness', 29 for the 'sun', 88 for the 'well', 350 for the 'lion' or 'tiger', 100 for the 'camel', and 255 for the 'she-camel'.* The *Kitāb al-Dhiʿb* contains all the words in the Arabic language for the 'wolf'.

All these works are sufficient to prove what a great command this scholar had over the Arabic language.

The second great lexicographer who has been associated with India, in the sense of having paid two visits to that country, is Majd al-Dīn Firūzābādī, author of the well-known Arabic dictionary *Qāmūs*. He went to India for the first time in the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (ruled 1351-1388) and the second time during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II Tughlaq.† The *Qāmūs* cannot be claimed as an

*Jurji Zaydān, *Taʾriḫ Adāb al-Lughat al-ʿArabiyyah*. I, 49.

† Huard's Arabic Literature, p. 383.

Indian product, but at the same time no one can ignore the significance of the fact that the royal patronage of the Indian courts was extended to the author of it.

The third great lexicon-writer, who was a real native of India but left it for Arabia and Egypt in search of knowledge, is Sayyid Murtaḍā Zabīdī, already noticed, who was destined to write a very comprehensive and extensive commentary entitled *Tāju 'l-'Urūs* (تاج العروس) on the *Qāmūs*. This work is also too well-known to need any discussion here.

In addition to these three great lexicographers, there has been in India another group of scholars of the same number (*i.e.*, three) who were well-versed in this branch of Arabic philology.

One of them is 'Abd al-Rashīd Thattawī who, by order of Shāh-jahān, composed a dictionary of Arabic words entitled *Muntakhab al-Lughāt*, using Persian as the vehicle. This work is much used in India.

The second of these scholars is 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Ṣafīpūr, who flourished about the end of the Mughal period and died shortly before the Mutiny. He composed a voluminous dictionary entitled *Muntaha al-'Irāb*, consisting of three volumes, but here again the medium is Persian. In India this lexicon is so much used that it has almost replaced all other dictionaries.

The last of this trio is Mufti Sa'd Allāh of Murādābād, who wrote under the title of *al-Qawl al-Mānūs fi Ṣifāt al-Qāmūs* (القول المانوس في صفات القاموس) a detailed and full appreciation of the *Qāmūs* in the form of a book of more than three hundred pages. This work is so deserving of attention that though it does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as the author died about 14 years after the Mutiny, it may not be unsuitable to give here the headings of some of the thirty-five chapters of which it consists, in order to show its nature and value. :—

- | | | |
|---------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Chapter | I. | An account of the author's life. |
| " | II. | The name of the book explained. |
| " | III. | The actual number of the words contained in the <i>Qāmūs</i> . He has not only counted up all the actual words, but he has also given enumerations of the words in each section. He says that the <i>Qāmūs</i> deals with 10406 words altogether, of which 5777 are also contained in the <i>Ṣiḥāḥ</i> while the rest are additional words. |
| " | IV. | A description of different MSS. |
| " | V. | The sources. |
| " | VI. | A comparison between the <i>Ṣiḥāḥ</i> and the <i>Qāmūs</i> . |
| " | VII. | An account of the commentaries on the <i>Qāmūs</i> . |
| " | VIII. | Technical terms used by the author. |
| " | X. | Hints as to the way of consulting the lexicon. |
| " | XI. | The peculiarities of the author's style. |
| " | XIII. | Glosses on the difficult passages. |
| | XIV-XXIII. | The mistakes of the author pointed out under various heads. |
| " | XXIV. | The author's wrong criticism on the author of the <i>Ṣiḥāḥ</i> . |
| " | XXV. | Those words in the <i>Ṣiḥāḥ</i> which the author of the <i>Qāmūs</i> has omitted from his work. |
| " | XXVI. | Those meanings of certain words which are given in the <i>Ṣiḥāḥ</i> but not found in the <i>Qāmūs</i> . |
| " | XXX. | The unnecessary repetition in the <i>Qāmūs</i> . |

Chapter XXXI. Occasional brevity to the point of obscurity.

„ XXXIII. A reply to a critic's severe criticism of the author.

This article on the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography would remain incomplete if at the end mention were not made of a most important work written in India, which is not exactly a lexicon in the proper sense of that term but a dictionary of technical terms, I mean, the *Kashshāf Isṭilāḥāt al-Funūn* (كشاف اصطلاحات الفنون), composed by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Fārūqī of Thānābhawan (in the district of Muzaffarnagar) about the middle of the 12th century of the *Hijra*, the date of its completion being 1156. This work, as indicated by its very title, deals with all the technicalities of all the Arabic arts and sciences. It is of immense help as a reference book, and has been published in two large volumes under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There is another Indian work of equal importance with the *Kashshāf* which, though not connected with philology, should be mentioned at this juncture if it is to be noticed at all. This is a bibliographical work entitled *Kashf al-Hujub wa 'l-Astār 'an Asmā' al-Kutub wa 'l-Asfār* (كشف الحجب والاستار عن أسماء الكتب والأسفار), compiled by I'jāz Ḥusayn Kantūrī, a Shī'ah scholar of the 13th century. This work is a bibliographical lexicon of all the works of the Shī'ah authors, the names of the books being arranged alphabetically as in the *Kashf al-Zunūn*.

Rhetoric, Prosody, etc.

Now to turn to the third and last branch of Arabic philology, the most important text-book ever written on the science of rhetoric '*Ilm al-Balāghah* is Al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*. On this text, many commentaries and super-

commentaries, glosses and super-glosses have been written in various countries, interested directly or indirectly in Arabic literature. India as a country interested indirectly in the literature and culture of Arabs has not fallen short of a reasonable expectation in her contribution to Arabic '*Ilm al-Balāghah*, a science comprehending several branches, for which the English language seems to have no single equivalent, unless it is literally translated as the science of elegant speech.

The first Indian scholar who wrote on one of the branches of the '*Ilm al-Balāghah* is, as far as I know, Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī whom we have noticed many times. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-'Arūd*, a MS. of which is to be found in the Berlin Library under the number 7127. It is a short but comprehensive treatise and deals with all the principles of prosody.

Then comes the great Persian poet of India, Amīr Khusraw. His father, Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, in the reign of Changīz Khān left his native country, Mā-warā' al-nahr, came to India, and settled at a place near Delhi, where he married the daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, of whom Amīr Khusraw was born in 561/1165. At a very early age, Amīr Khusraw displayed an extraordinary poetical genius and a strong disposition for the study of every kind of science and art, and consequently he very soon arose in eminence as a scholar and poet and met with the highest distinction in the assemblies of princes. In Ṣūfiism he became the disciple of the famous Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' who had a high regard and great love for his spiritual pupil. Amīr Khusraw served seven different kings, all of whom were favourably disposed towards him. He is regarded as the best and the greatest of the Persian poets of India, and is the author of several works. He died in 725/1324, six months after the death of his beloved

spiritual leader. His wonderful genius and rare talents enabled him to compose a voluminous and 'miraculous' work entitled *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* on the art of rhetoric. This book is in Persian, but he has given Arabic examples, all his own, of all the rhetorical devices and figures of speech that he has mentioned in this work. Amīr Khusraw invented many a literary beauty, one or two examples of which may be given here to show that an Indian mind, whether interested in Arabic or Persian literature, has never failed to respond wherever there is any call for artificial contrivances, for far-fetched conventions and for an excessive use of fancy and imagination.

One of them is what is termed *Tarjamat al-Lafz* (ترجمة اللفظ) by its author. This figure of speech lies in using two words which are synonymous, but of two different languages, e.g.,

إذا دعا لطاياك أنجماً نادى غداً النجوم كما في مسرة شادي

(When a proclaimer invites stars for your gifts, the stars become just like a singing bird that sings for joy.)

Here the figure lies in the use of the two words *Anjuman* and *Nādī*, and also in *Masarrat* and *Shādī*. The first two words (the former in Persian and the latter in Arabic) mean 'meeting', while the last two (the first in Arabic and the second in Persian) mean 'happiness', but here the Persian meanings are not to be taken.

Another interesting figure of speech invented by Amīr Khusraw that may be mentioned here is *Dhu Ru'yatayn*, which lies in the composition of verses in one language in such a way that they may be changed into another language with a change of dots and diacritical marks. For instance,*

رشیدی ندیدی مرا می نجائی دهانی بیاسی تباری نسائی

* *Khusraw, I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, II, 64.

(My dutiful friend, my comrade, my hope, my salvation, the competition of the ladies has thrown me into disappointment). This couplet, with the change of dots and diacritical points, is read in Persian thus:—

رسیدی بدیدی مرادی بخانی زمانی بباشی بیاری بشانی .

(You arrived and saw me last night in an inn. Sit for a while with me. You deserve friendship.)

A still more ingenious figure of speech is what Amīr Khusraw calls *Qalb al-Lisānayn*, which is found in those verses which shift from one language to another, if they are read reversely from the last letter (not word) of their hemistiches, *e.g.*,*

محب مینک یم راک امک رای یایب شاب نم اب یشا هک اجره

which read reversely becomes a Persian verse in the following way:—

بیای یار که ما کار کنیم بهم هر جا که باشی بامن باش

It may be noted that the more artificial a verse, the less clear the sense, and hence the meaning of the last Arabic couplet which contains one of the most artificial and difficult figures of speech is not clear.

The greatest exponent of the subtleties of the '*Ilm al-Balāghah*' that India has produced is 'Abd al-Hakīm of Sialkot who has been mentioned many times. He wrote an extensive and copious super-commentary on the *Mutawwal* of Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, which is in its turn an exhaustive commentary on Sakkākī's *Miftāh*. This super-commentary has been published in Constantinople and enjoys a high repute among men of letters both in India and in Turkey.

Next comes Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad, commonly called Ibn Ma'sūm, already noticed as the author of the *Sulāfah* and other works. Of the several works left by him, we are

*Khusraw, *I'jāz i-Khusrawi*, II, 64.

concerned here with the *Anwār al-Rabi‘ fī Anwā‘ al-Badī‘* (انوار الربيع في انواع البديع). This work consists of a *Badī‘iyyah* (a poem containing examples of all the figures of speech) of the author and his own commentary on it. The author after reading the *Badī‘iyyah* of Ibn Ḥijjah and its commentary, composed a similar poem in order to surpass his predecessor. He afterwards wrote an extensive commentary from which the present one is abridged. An appendix contains notices of the following nine authors of *Badī‘iyyahs*: Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥilli, (752/1351), Ṣhams al-Dīn Ibn Jābir (780/1378), Abū Jā‘far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Gḥarnāṭī (779/1377), ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī (789/1387), Ibn Ḥijjah (837/1433), Ibn al-Muqri (837/1433), al-Suyūṭī (911-1505), Wajīh al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Zabīdī (d. about 920/1514) and Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabari (1033/1623.)

The last, but not least, author worthy of notice is the great Arabic poet of India, Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād who has rightly won the distinguished title of the *Ḥassūn al-Hind*. The third chapter of his *Subḥat al-Marjān*, is devoted exclusively to literary beauties and rhetorical devices. Like Amīr Khusraw, he was a scholar of some originality as far as the art of rhetoric is concerned. He has likewise invented some figures of speech and has creditably introduced into Arabic literature some of the rhetorical beauties of Sanskrit and Hindi.

He states in the beginning of the above-mentioned third chapter of the *Subḥat* that the ancient Hindūs invented many figures of speech and rhetorical devices, some of which are common to themselves and to the Arabs, whilst others are peculiar to them only, and so he proposes to introduce the latter kind of speech into Arabic literature, hoping that the Arabs will realise the value of Indian rhetoric as they have appreciated the merits of Indian

swords. He has adopted twenty-three of the Indian figures of speech, and has given them appropriate names. Thirty-seven figures of speech he has himself invented. In addition to these two classes of rhetorical contrivances, he has also mentioned nine old figures of speech, thus dealing with sixty-nine figures altogether, which he has discussed in three *Maqālāt* (Discourses).

To indicate the nature of the figures of speech borrowed from Sanskrit, one or two examples may be given here:—

1. *Barā'at al-Jawāb* (براعة الجواب). This beauty lies in giving one ambiguous word in reply to two different questions. The following example in English may give an idea about it. Suppose there are two questions: Why is there no fish caught? and what is wrong with this triangle? The reply in both cases may be 'Because there is no angle.'

2. *Mukhālaṭat al-Ṣidq bi 'l-Kidhb*, which means 'mixing truth with falsehood', that is to say, arguing for a false fact by means of a true fact, *e.g.*,*

واخفت أهل الشرك حتى أنه - لتضاك النطف التي لم تخلق

(You have frightened the people of *Shirk* (*i.e.*, polytheists) so much that even the embryo that has not yet been born fears you.) Here the last fact is absolutely false, but it has been mentioned in such a relation with the former statement, which may be true, that the mind of the reader cannot distinguish between true and false.

Another beauty that may be mentioned here is one invented by Amīr *Khusraw* but named *Bā Qalamūn* by Āzād. It consists in employing in a sentence or a verse a word common to more than one language, in such a way that the different meanings of the word according to the different languages may be applicable, *e.g.*, in a Qur'ānic verse there is this small sentence (يا تينا فرداً)† in which the

* This couplet is by Abū Nuwās.

† The Qur'ān, XIX, 80.

word *Fardā* means 'alone' or 'individually'. God is speaking of a certain unbeliever. He says: 'He shall come alone to us.' This word *Fardā* in Persian means 'tomorrow', which often signifies 'the day of resurrection.' This meaning is also applicable here. Another example of the same figure of speech is another Qur'ānic verse which contains this sentence: (إي الفريقين خير: مقاماً واحسن ندبا)*. *Nadyā* in Arabic means 'assembly' and in Urdu or Hindi 'river', which is also applicable. Āzād says that God, Omniscient as He is, must have thought of the beauty of this word.

Āzād has recorded a humorous anecdote which may not be out of place to mention here. A certain Hindū, says Āzād, put this question to 'Abd al-Jalil, an eminent scholar of Awrangzib's time: "You Muslims believe: لا يطب ولا يابس إلا في كتاب مبين (There is nothing wet or dry but is in the book). Is there any mention of Kānā (the name of their leader) in the Qur'ān?" "Oh yes," he replied promptly, "God says: *wa Kāna Min al-Kāfirīn*."

The following couplets of Āzād himself are good examples of the figure of speech under consideration:

و غادة من بنات الهند قد طهرت في زيا من اسجاف و استار
نقلت لما سوت في الاز مائة يا جندا السربل يا جندا الساري

(A damsel, one of the Indian girls, has appeared in her garb—her skirts and veils; I said when she walked in red silk with an elegant gait, "What a beautiful garment, and how fair is she that walks!") Here the word *Sārī* in Hindī means a kind of Indian dress which is applicable also here. In this case the meaning of the phrase will be 'What a nice dress' in place of 'What a nice walker.'

Āzād has also composed a *Badi'iyyah* like those of other scholars. Before giving his *Badi'iyyah*, he

* The Qur'ān XIX, 73.

says, by way of a modest apology, that so far only scholars and those men of letters who have constantly been in contact with Arabic-speaking nations have composed such poems. It is a very difficult task for an Indian to enter the arena of rhetorical competition with them. "I, by the grace of God," says he, "have succeeded in composing a *Badi'iyyah*. Often it happens that a small man may achieve what may surprise great big folk."

In my humble opinion his *Badi'iyyah* is a work that may rank with those of standard authors. If a critic cannot acknowledge the superiority of his rhetorical poem over those of other writers, I am sure, he will not hesitate to regard him as competent for this intellectual competition with the literary heroes of Arabia and other countries, and this is in no way an ordinary achievement for a pure Indian.

CHAPTER XI

Literary Composition and Ornate Prose

As the production of this branch of literature, like that of poetry, demands, on the part of those who aspire to it, a complete mastery over the language and literature on the one hand, and a fine and delicate taste for literary subtleties on the other, it is, in view of the often mentioned disadvantages under which India has made her contribution to Arabic literature, rather too much to expect her to do her share in this matter to the same extent as she has done in the case of those departments of Arabic literature in which she has been less handicapped. Yet she has acquitted herself fairly well in this purely literary sphere also. This subject may be discussed under the following six heads :—

I.	<i>Khutbahs</i> (Sermons)	...	4	Works.
II.	Literary Selections	...	2	„
III.	Letters	...	1	„
IV.	<i>Belles-Lettres</i>	...	3	„
V.	Commentaries on poetical works		1	„
VI.	Fiction	...	1	„
TOTAL		...	12	

1. *Khutbahs*.

In India many *Khutbahs* have been composed, of which the following deserve mention :—

1. The well-known *Ṣūfī* of India, named *Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn*, styled *Sultān al-Awliyā* (725/1324), was an eminent scholar also. One *Khutbah* of his has been much appreciated throughout India on account of the elegance

of the style, coupled with the heart-burning expression of a lover's zeal and enthusiasm for the Divine love, contained therein. It is still recited on the pulpits at many Indian mosques. Its style is elegant and at the same time sublime. A few introductory sentences may be cited here :—

الحمد لله الذي قصرت عن رؤيته اَبصارُ الظَّالِمِينَ و عجزت عن نعته
 اوهام الواسمين ابتدع بقدرته الخلق ابتداءً و اخترعهم على مشيئة اختراعاً - وانطق
 لسان الذاكرين بذكر لاله الا الله و اودع مفاتيح الانوار في صدور العالمين لا يعلمها
 الا الله و روح المشتاقين بروح اشتياق في مشاهدة جمال الله و اهرق دم المحبين
 بسيف الجلال في بيداء وصال الله و احرق قلب العاشقين بنار العشق في ابتغاء
 لقاء الله و خلق الجنة والنار للمؤمنين والكفار ليحجز الذين اساءوا بما عملوا ويحجز الذين
 احسنوا بالتسني - فلو كانت الجنة نصيب العارفين بدون جماله و وصاله فواويله
 ولو كانت النار نصيب المشتاقين مع جماله و وصاله فواشوقاه —

(All praise is due to Him, of the vision of Whom the eyes of beholders have fallen short and Whom the imaginations of those who have communion with Him have failed to describe. He has created creatures with His power and brought them out of absolute nothingness into existence by His Will. He has made the tongue of the divine praisers recite *lā Ilāha Illā Allāh* and has deposited in the breasts of the learned the keys to lights known to none but God. He has animated the souls of those who are longing for the Divine vision, with the spirit of longing to behold the beauty of God, and has shed the blood of the lovers (of God) with the sword of His majesty in the desert of communion with God, and has burnt the hearts of the Divine lovers with the fire of love in their longing to meet God. He has created Paradise and Hell for the believers and the infidels in order to repay the wicked for what they have done, and to compensate the righteous for their good deeds. If Paradise be the lot of the gnostics, but without the vision of, and communion

with, Him, woe betide them; and if Hell, accompanied with the beauty of God and with communion with Him, be allotted to those who long (for God), how great will be their longing!)

The sublimity of the ideas expressed therein and the elegance of the style are too obvious to require any comment; the last two sentences are particularly exquisite in their nature.

2. Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi has also composed some Khutbahs, the finest being the one that begins as follows:—

الحمد لله الذي خلق الانسان وقد اتى عليه حين من الدهر لم يكن شيئا مذكورا -

The beauty of this Khutbah lies in the fact that the author has ably and ingeniously incorporated some suitable phrases and sentences from the Qur'ānic chapter LXXVI into his own composition. For instance, the first sentence, which has been just quoted has been taken from the first verse of the above-mentioned Sūrah, with this slight alteration that the introductory words هل اتى على الانسان حين have been changed into قد اتى عليه حين, to suit the context. This beauty the author has maintained throughout. This Khutbah is very popular in India.

3. Muḥammad Ismā'il, grandson of Shāh Wali Allāh, composed several Khutabāt, all of them being well-known in India. This Muḥammad Ismā'il was an eminent scholar and a strict follower of Ahl al-Ḥadīth. He earnestly espoused the cause of this sect in India and left many works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu bearing on this puritanic and non-conformist movement. His Khutabāi are elegant and sweet in style, and inspiring and sublime in theme.

4. Lastly may be mentioned the name of 'Abd al-Ḥayy, a modern author who composed a number of books in Arabic on various branches of Muslim learning. His

book entitled *al-Latā'if al-Mustaḥsinah bi Jam' Khutab Shuhūr al-Sanah* (اللطائف المستحسنه بجمع خطب شهور السنة) contains as many *Khutabūt* as there are Fridays in a year. Though the author does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as he died some time after the Mutiny, yet his *Khutabūt* deserve mention here. Their peculiarity, apart from their charming style and elegant composition, lies in the fact that they are divided according to the number of the months in a year, each division being further subdivided according to the number of Fridays in a month. Thus each Friday has its own *Khutbah*, which, in addition to the general theme of *Khutabūt*, deals with those injunctions and religious exercises which concern that particular month and week in which it is to be recited. As to the style, they may well be compared with such standard ornate prose works as the *Aṭwāq al-Dhahab* by Zamakhsharī, and *Aṭbāq al-Dhahab* by Sharaf al-Dīn.

II. Literary Selections: 2 Works.

1. Of the Arabic literary selections made in India one of the most valuable is the *Nafḥat al-Yaman fī mā Yacūlu bi Dhikrihī al-Shājan*, (نفحة اليمن في ما يذول بذكره الشجن) which was collected by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Yamarī (d. 1256/1840) while he was at Calcutta in the service of the Honourable East India Company which did so much for the advancement of Arabic and other learning in India during its regime. He came of a family which originally belonged to Hamadān, and after some vicissitudes settled in Yaman. His father went to India to join his paternal uncle who had previously settled in Benāres, but before he reached India the uncle died and he, being disappointed at this sad news, and also at the unkind treatment he received from his cousins, went to Lucknow, where the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawlah showered royal favours on him. After staying for

some time at Lucknow, he went back to the Yaman, and on his way at Hudaydah he married the daughter of a Sayyid, the issue of which marriage was our author. His early days were passed at Hudaydah where he studied various branches of learning. Subsequently he came to Calcutta and was employed as a teacher of Arabic at the College of Fort William. After some time he resigned his post and went to Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar of Lucknow who showed him great favour. After the death of the Nawwāb, he visited several cities of India, and at last he died at Pūna, in 1256/1840. He wrote a number of prose works, interspersed with verse. Though his birthplace was Yaman, the field of his literary activities was chiefly India.

The merits of these selections have been fully recognised by the contemporaries of the editor as well as by later scholars. They are regarded as a useful text-book for the study of Arabic literature (in its special sense) in all the old-fashioned schools, and also in some new institutions. It is divided into five chapters. The first is devoted to short stories and literary anecdotes; the second comprises two literary debates: one between the rose and the narcissus and the other between the physician and the astrologer; the third is a poetical selection containing many poems and panegyrics, among which we find a *Qaṣīdah* of our great Indian poet Āzād; the fourth contains four *Lāmiyyah Qaṣā'id*; and the fifth is a collection of proverbs, maxims, etc.

2. The other selection that may be mentioned here is one made by Muḥammad Husayn Khān of Shāhjahānpūr (d. 1276/1859), under the title of *Riyāṭ al-Firdaws* (رياض الفردوس). It is a large compendium divided in the first place into three sections, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. We are here concerned with the first one, which is again divided into two large chapters, the first dealing with poetry and the second with prose. The second chapter is further split up

into five sub-chapters. The first contains letters of eminent scholars, of whom five are Indian; the second is a learned treatise by al-Suyūṭī on various problems of orthography, grammar, rhetoric, etc.; the third comprises selections from standard books on various branches of Islamic learning of which the treatise on Ṣūfīism is by an Indian Ṣūfī named Shaykh Faḍl Allāh of Burhānpūr; the fourth contains treatises on sciences such as logic, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, medicine and anatomy, of which treatises, one on logic is by an Indian scholar 'Abd al-Ḥaqq; and the fifth consists of selections connected with such topics as the rules of debating and study, *Taqārīz*, (literary appreciations), etc., among which are two Indian products. The vast scope that these selections cover makes them appear almost like an encyclopaedia. The merits of this compendium may be judged from the fact that scholars such as Sa'd Allāh Murādābādī, Turāb 'Alī and Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān have spoken of it in high terms.

It is true that the making of selections is no work of originality: selections are after all selections, that is to say, the work of others and not of the compiler himself. Yet it enables one to judge the ability and taste of the compiler, just as al-Tibrizī has said of Abū Tammām, the famous compiler of the best-known Arabic anthology, *Hamāsah*, that he has manifested greater ability and finer taste as a maker of these selections than as a poet.

III. *Letters and Composition Concerning Correspondence : One Work.*

The compiler of the *Nafḥat al-Yaman* composed also a book entitled '*Ajab al-'Ujāb fī mā Yufid al-Kuttāb* (عجب العجائب في ما يفيد الكتاب) which is an introduction to the art of letter-writing, being a collection of letters on various subjects. In presenting this work to the public the author has spared no pains to render it consonant with its

title. He hopes that by his employers it will be considered as a proof of his zeal for the advancement of the Arabic language. This book is divided into three parts: the first deals with the correspondence of men of letters; the second with that of Sultāns, Wazīrs and Qādis; and the last with that of merchants. The appendix, which is in itself a fourth part, is a copious collection of family letters and notes on the occasions of every day—all having that loose texture of composition which is so natural in common life. The letters contained in the first part are those that passed between the author and his friends. They are in ornate and flowery prose, there being no subject-matter beyond the acknowledgment of a letter or the expression of feelings of love and affection to the addressee. These letters are written in so artificial and pedantic a style that they seem to have been designed for the display of the writer's ability and penmanship rather than for any other purpose. One of these letters is written to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz of Delhi. It is written in a beautiful and elegant style, but the reply is in a style more beautiful still. The original letter also contains a *Mimīyyah* panegyric in praise of the addressee, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, who in reply composed a *Nūniyyah Qasīdah* which, being in praise of the Prophet, deals with a nobler theme and is of sweeter melody. In the prose portion of his letter, the Shāh has given a vivid and pathetic description of the illness from which he was suffering at the time of replying to the letter. He also records his appreciation of Aḥmad Yamani's poem (written in his praise), and the only defect he detects in it is that it was composed in praise of a person (meaning himself) who was not worthy of its contents at all. This work is interesting, and the first of its kind in India.

IV. *Belles Lettres and Artificial Composition: 3 Works.*

The tendency of Indian mind towards artificiality, both in prose and poetry, has already been discussed at

some length in connection with the two Qur'ānic commentaries, the *Sawāṭi 'al-Iḥām* and the *Jubb Shaghah*, in which the authors have skilfully maintained throughout the extremely artificial style of avoiding dotted and 'undotted letters, respectively. Apart from these two books the following three works may be noticed under the present head:—

1. *Mawārid al-Kilam wa Silk Durar al-Ḥikam* (مآرِدُ الْكَلَامِ وَ سِلْكُ دُرَرِ الْحِكْمِ) by the celebrated *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍi, the author of the *Sawāṭi*. From the standpoint of the subject-matter this book was noticed among the works on Ṣūfiism and ethics, but in the consideration of the style maintained throughout it falls also under the present category. In this work the author, as in the case of the *Sawāṭi*, has avoided dotted letters and made use of undotted letters only. This work is divided into fifty sections called *Mawārid*, which cover a long range of ethical excellences. The author has taken his subject-matter from various sources and has reproduced them in his own way, maintaining above-mentioned figure of speech, called *al-Ṣan'at al-Muḥmalah*. The very title of the book is a chronogram indicating the date of its composition as 985 A.H. The author by writing this book has undoubtedly shown a wonderful command over the Arabic language and literature. As far as is known to the writer of the present dissertation, only in India have such attempts been made to compose a complete book illustrating this figure of speech. Muḥammad Ṣiddiq of Lahore (d. 1192/1778) is said to have written a biography of the Prophet maintaining throughout the *Ṣan'at al-Iḥmāl*, and the author of the *Ḥadā'iq al-Iḥanīyyah* remarks that it is a greater credit to its author than the *Sawāṭi* is to Fayḍi.* This work unfortunately does not seem to exist in any of those libraries the catalogues of which

* Faqīr Muhammad, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 451.

have been published. There exists, however, another work of the same peculiarity in the Rāmpūr State Library. It is a commentary on the Sūrah Yūsuf by Ṣāhibzādah 'Alī 'Abhās Khān, who flourished in the time of Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān of Rāmpūr. Another composition with the same literary characteristic, entitled *Durūd-i-Ghiyā-thiyyah*, has already been noticed in connection with works on Ṣūfiism and ethics.

To show the nature and scope of the work under consideration, a few quotations may be cited:—The first *Mawrid* is *Mawrid al-Islām*, which runs as follows:—

هاتوا و صلوا و صوموا و دوروا حول الحرم مواصلة و اكملوا مع الاحرام مواصلة
و اعطوا مالا مأمورا للصلوك وهو الاسلام -

(Say *Lā Ilāha Illa Allāh*, say your prayers, go round the Ḥaram in its proper time, complete its ritual rites with the *Iḥrām* and give alms to the needy as ordered. And this is Islām.) How skilfully he has mentioned the five principles without using any single dotted letter. Then he goes on to say something regarding each principle.

The next *Mawrid* is of the Qur'ān which runs:—

- ١ - كلام الله امام أهل الاسلام و مدار حصول السلام -
- ٢ - كلام الله داماد لا ساحل له وهو مصدر العلوم كذا و مودع الاسرار والحكم -
- ٣ - ورد - علوم كلام الله عدد كلمة -
- ٤ - ورد - أدلة كما سمعوه -
- ٥ - رسول الله صلعم علم أداء كلام الله رحمة و الرحمة علموا رهطاً كسالم و عمر و عطاء و مسلم و طاوس و الاسود - و سعد و عاصم و ما عداهم -
- ٦ - ورد - صدور السور اسماء لها كالقصد - طه و العصر و ما سواها -
- ٧ - اسماء السور ما هو المسموع كهود الرعد - اسراء -
- ٨ - ورد - لما لك ملك و للصراط سراط ' ورد طه مكسور' اعطاء و الهاء رواة ولد مسعود -

Then come *Mawrids* of 'Ilm al-Kalām, of Adam, of Muḥammad, of the Companions of the Prophet, of his

descendants, of saints, of kings, and then of moral virtues, each being treated in a separate *Mawrid*.

In the conclusion of his book the author has employed the reverse figure of speech, called *Ṣanʿat al-Manqūṭah*, which lies in avoiding undotted letters. This concluding portion is only two pages long, but, being full of bombastic and uncommon words, is very difficult to understand.

2. *Al-Maqāmāt al-Hindiyyah* (القمامات الهندية), composed by Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin al-ʿAlawī, on the lines of the previous works of similar nature. Nothing is known about the author except that he was an ʿArab and lived for a considerable time in India. The chronogram at the end indicates that the work was completed in 1128/1715.*

The reason for the composition of the book is mentioned in the brief preface, where we are told that one day the author went out for an excursion in a mixed company of educated and uneducated persons, taking with him the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī and Badiʿ. When he sat down to recite one of them, those who were not well versed in the Arabic language and literature naturally did not like the reading, whereupon some of those present suggested to the author that he should write a book in imitation of these works but in an easy and simple style such as might be comprehended without reference to lexicons. The author having realised the value of such a work, at once took up this literary enterprise and soon finished it. It consists of fifty *Maqāmāt* each named after some Indian town, e.g., Sūratiyyah, Aḥmadnakariyyah, Lāhūriyyah, etc. The narrator is Abu ʿl-Nāṣir b. Fattāḥ who narrates the adventures and feats of Abu ʿl-Zafar al-Hindī—these two characters play the same part as played by ʿIsā b. Hishām and Abū Zayd respectively in the

* The author of the *Muʿjam al-Matbūʿāt* (معجم المطبوعات) says that the author died about 523 (p. 322), which is obviously a misprint for some other figure.

Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī. The nature of the theme is almost the same as those of Ḥarīrī and Badī'. An instance or two may be given here.

The purport of the *Maqāmah al-Sūratiyyah* is as follows:—The narrator, Abu 'l-Nāṣir says that, being attracted by a beautiful description of India he went to that country and landed at Sūrat, where he enjoyed his visit very much. One day, while walking in the city, he met a man who took him to the court of a minister and introduced him as a poet and scholar, praising him so eloquently and elegantly that the minister was much pleased with the newcomer and ordered a rich reward and a robe of honour to be given to him. All these things were received by the stranger and then they both left the minister's house. Out of this reward and gift, the stranger gave our friend very little, saying that he should wait till he (the stranger) returned from the adjacent house, into which he at once disappeared. Our friend waited and waited in vain, but the man did not come back again. The visitor enquired about the stranger and to his surprise he was told that he was no other than Abu 'l-Zafar al-Hindī.

In the *Maqāmah* of Aḥmadnagar, Abu 'l-Nāṣir relates that one day, as he was passing through a certain street, he came across a well where a beautiful woman was drawing water. Feeling thirsty, he asked for water. After quenching his thirst while he was having a talk with the woman, there appeared a man who wanted to take her away with him. She refused to go, and cried for help. Abu 'l-Nāṣir intervened between them. The stranger claimed that she was his wife and had run away from him—a statement which at first the woman denied but afterwards admitted. She said, "Well, I am ready to follow you, but you must give me something to eat," to which the claimant replied that he was very poor and had no money

with him. "Then why do you not borrow some money from a gentleman?" rejoined the wife. But the suggestion was rejected by the cunning husband, and our narrator was so much touched by their quarrel that he felt constrained to give them something from his own pocket. Abu 'l-Nāṣir overheard them saying as they went away, "What a nice plan we devised!" and, carefully observing the man, discovered that he was Abu 'l-Zafar.

The style of the book is neither bombastic nor elaborate but simple and easy. This work was not known to Mr. Chenery, the translator of the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥaririyyah*, though he gave in his introduction a list of other similar works written before or after these assemblies. No European library seems to contain any MS. of it. It has been lithographed more than once in India and India Office Library possesses a copy.

3. *Al-Manāqib al-Ḥaydariyyah* (المنائب الحيدرية), composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Yamani, already noticed. This work was, as indicated by its title, dedicated to Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, king of Oudh, at whose court the author spent some time, enjoying the generous hospitality of his royal host and patron. When the author went back to Calcutta, he wrote the present work in recognition of the kindness he had received. This book is divided into eight chapters :—

- | | | |
|---------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Chapter | I. | An account of the king's clemency and forbearance. |
| „ | II. | An account of his generosity. |
| „ | III. | An account of his accession to the throne, and of his bravery. |
| „ | IV. | An account of his religious practices and eloquence. |
| „ | V. | An account of his minister. |
| „ | VI. | Accounts of his palaces. |

Chapter VII. Accounts of his gardens.

„ VIII. An account of his miracles.

In addition to the above-mentioned matters, the book is full of entertaining digressions, both literary and historical. It has been composed from beginning to end on the principle of *الشئ بالشئ يذكر* (that is to say, one topic leads to another). For instance, while speaking of the king's generosity, he says the king is more generous than the Barmakid princes, and then gives a short but interesting account of this house. Or, when speaking of his eloquence, he mentions some noted essayists and elegant writers and gives accounts of them. In this connection he refers to a letter addressed to Şālāh al-Dīn by his minister, and then he gives a sketch of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Then he mentions several kings and rulers who were well-versed in the art of composition and literature. While describing the royal palaces at Lucknow, he makes mention of some of the celebrated and wonderful buildings and cities of the world.

While digressing on a cat, he gives an interesting story, which of course is not a new one, of a Bedouin who had never seen a cat until he happened to get hold of one. While he was taking it away in his arms, he met another Bedouin who said, "What will you do with this *Sinnawr* (cat)?" He had scarcely gone a few steps further when another man asked him what he would do with the *Qitt*. To be brief, in a short time the Bedouin met seven men who put to him the same question, but each used a different word for the cat. The Bedouin thought that the little animal must be very precious, and so he took it to the market for sale. People asked him the price, to which he replied "One hundred *Dirhams*." Then they laughed and said that it was not worth even one *Dirham*. The Bedouin, being disillusioned, threw away the cat, saying *لعنة الله ما اكتر اسمائه و ما اقل ثمنه* (God's curse; how many names, and how small a price!)

While describing the royal gardens, the author has not merely mentioned all the fruits and flowers, but has also given appropriate Arabic couplets in praise of them. While describing the elephants and horses of the king, he has given a curious account of an elephant. He says that one of the royal elephants had been so trained that during the first ten days of Muḥarram he used to weep and lament the death of the Prophet's grandson like a man. Then the author cites a small Arabic poem which he puts in the mouth of the dumb animal. This poem is so skilfully worded that it really resembles the shriek of an elephant. This poem runs as follows :—

واحسینا واحسینا واحسین
 ان کربی حاج فیما قد جری فی کربلا
 من طغاة خالفوا احکام ذی الانبیاء
 للتحسین السید المولے امام الاقتیاء
 آه من جور العدی واحسینا واحسین
 اشتتوا شمل الہدی واحسینا واحسین

Thus every chapter of the book is full of interesting digressions, included on the plea of being slightly connected with the main theme, so making the book both entertaining and profitable.

V. *Commentaries on Standard Literary Works.*

Under this head there may be mentioned at least one work which is of some importance. It is a copious commentary entitled *Muṣaddiq al-Faḍl* (مصدق الفضل) on the well-known *Qaṣīdah Bānat Sa'ād*, composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, whose works on Arabic grammar have already been noticed.

On this *Qaṣīdah* several scholars, such as Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Latīf (d. 629/1231), Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359), Ibrāhīm al-Lakhmī (790/1385) and Suyūṭī (911/1505) wrote commentaries and super-commentaries, and the present commentary is an attempt by an Indian.

The commentator begins with a short account of the poet and his poetical talents. Then he takes up the poem, couplet by couplet, and comments upon it in a very elaborate and detailed manner under the following eight heads :—

I.	<i>Lughat,</i>	V.	<i>Bayān,</i>
II.	<i>Ṣarf,</i>	VI.	<i>Badī‘,</i>
III.	<i>Naḥw,</i>	VII.	<i>‘Arūd,</i>
IV.	<i>Ma ‘ānī.</i>	VIII.	<i>Hāṣil (purport).</i>

While commenting on the first couplet, he has added one more head, *viz.*, *Qawāfī*, and this explanation, once given here, applies equally to all the remaining couplets and needs no repetition or addition.

To maintain this profoundly elaborate and detailed way of commenting throughout the poem was no easy task. Yet we find that our author has done it, and done it successfully.

VI. *Legendary Work : One.*

Under this head reference may be made to the *Qissat Shahrūtī* (*قصة شهروتي*) which is a fabulous account of the first settlement of the Muslims in Mālābār, under the king *Shahrūtī* of Cranganore, a contemporary of the Prophet, who was converted to Islām by the miracle of the splitting of the moon. The name of the author is not known, but this much is almost certain, that he was an Indian, because other works written about Mālābār, such as *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* and *al-Fath al-Mubīn li al-Sāmiri*, noticed already, were composed by natives of that country. Moreover, the subject-matter is such that only a resident of Mālābār is likely to have dealt with it. The India Office Library contains a unique MS. of it.*

* See Loth's Catalogue, 1044, IV.

The legend is briefly as follows :—

When the verse *wa Andhir ‘Ashirataka al-Aqrabīn** (Warn thy nearest relations) was revealed to the Prophet, he gathered his relatives and friends together and invited them to accept Islām, whereupon a few persons embraced the new religion, but the others turned their backs upon him and determined to prevent him from preaching his new doctrines. These unbelievers at last went to a certain ‘Arab king of Madīnah, named Ḥabīb b. Mālīk, and besought his help against the heresy of the new prophet. Thereupon the king, with an army of four thousand horsemen, left for Makkah, and encamped in the vicinity of the town. The king told the complainants that he thought it better first to ask Muḥammad to perform an impossible miracle. So Muḥammad was sent for, but as he was about to leave his house, the angel Gabriel came to him and informed him of the exact state of affairs. Then, having thus a complete knowledge of what was going to happen, he went to the king who, in spite of his dignity and splendour, could not refrain from standing up, to show his respects to the Prophet when he entered his court. After some preliminary conversation, the king asked him to perform the following miracle: “To-day,” he said, “the fifth of the lunar month, the full moon must rise from behind the mountain of Abū Qays, speak eloquently of your being a prophet, then descend from the sky, enter your right sleeve and go out by your left, then to be divided into two halves, one half going to the East and the other to the West, and lastly join together again in the centre of the sky.” When the miracle was performed by the Prophet exactly as requested, the king with his army embraced Islām and went back to his kingdom.

* The Qur’ān, XXVI, 214.

This miracle was, on this very night, observed by a king of India named Shakrūti, who collected his soothsayers and astronomers and gave them forty days in which to explain this phenomenon. When this period was over and no one could throw any light upon the matter, the king beheld the Prophet in a dream, and he explained everything to the entire satisfaction of the king. This dream caused the Indian king to become a sincere lover of the Prophet. Meanwhile, some Jews and Christians of Makkah and some Muslim travellers who were going on pilgrimage to Mount Adam, reached the capital of the king Shakrūti. All of them bore testimony to the splitting of the moon. When the Muslim pilgrims returned from Ceylon to their own country, the king secretly went with them to Makkah, met the Prophet, and embraced Islām. The Prophet named him Sultān Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī. When the news of his arrival and conversion to Islām reached the king Ḥabīb b. Mālīk, he went to visit the Indian convert and the two kings formed a strong friendship. Afterwards they decided to go to India, but when the royal party reached the port, the Indian king fell seriously ill, but while he was dying, he urged his companions not to give up the idea of going on to India. He wrote them some letters of introduction and recommendation to his ministers and courtiers; and after his death the party proceeded to India, where they were cordially received and granted every facility.

CHAPTER XII

Arabic Poetry in India

Many Indians have written Arabic verse, but since Arabic poetry, even in Arabic-speaking countries, had lost its glory and sublimity by the time that Arabic studies commenced in India, the Arabic poets of this country cannot be expected to display poetical genius of a high order. The best among them are merely elegant artists playing beautifully with words, and achieving nothing more.

Arabic poetry, like Persian, has generally thrived under the patronage of rulers and princes. The Indian Muslim kings were Persian-speaking people, and were naturally more interested in Persian poetry. Hence Arabic poetry did not receive any patronage and impetus from the courts of the ruling houses in Northern India, and though the courts of Gujarāt and the Deccan attracted many poets and scholars from Arabia, yet in the first place their number was small as compared with that of the poets and scholars who came from Persia and, in the second place, their literary activities were limited and did not enjoy any particular amount of patronage. It is to be regretted that owing to the lack of interest in such Arabic poetry as was produced in Southern India, only a few names of such poets have come down to us. Historians simply say that these courts contained several Arabian poets and scholars, but do not give their names or any account of them.

The *‘Aydarūs* family of Aḥmadābād, being in constant touch with South Arabia, attracted several scholars and

poets from Arabia during the early days of their settlement in Aḥmadābād. The *Nūr al-Sāfir* contains short accounts of such poets, but their sojourn in India was temporary only. Mālābār, in which Arabic for some time had the same supremacy as Persian in Northern India, must have produced some poets; but no mention is to be found except of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the brother of Zayn al-Dīn, author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn*, who composed a *Mathnawī* in Arabic, entitled '*al-Fath al-Mubīn Li 'l-Sūmirī Alladhī Yuḥibb al-Muslimīn*. This work will be reviewed later on.

There were other Arabic poets too who settled in India, e.g., Ibn Ma'sūm, his father Nizām, Ḥasan b. Shadqam, the author of the *Zahr al-Riyāḍ*, mentioned above, and his sons all of them were attached to one or the other court in the Deccan or Gujarāt. The *Sulāfat al-'Asr*, already noticed, contains short biographical accounts of them as well as some extracts from their poetry. Now we mention, in chronological order, some of the important Arabic poets, whether Indians or foreigners but domiciled in India.

The earliest of them is Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān, better known as a Persian than an Arabic poet. His ancestors were residents of Hamadān, but his father was for sixty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of India. Mas'ūd was born and brought up at Lahore.* Besides Persian, he was well versed in Arabic and Hindi, and left a *Diwān* in each of these languages.† But it is to be regretted that his Arabic and Hindi *Diwāns* appear to have been lost. Waṭwāt has

* For a critical and detailed account, see Professor Browne's translation of Mirzā Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb Qazwīnī's monograph on this poet, J. R. A. S. (for 1905, pp. 693-740).

† Khusraw, Preface to his *Diwān Ghurraṭ al-Kamāl*.

cited a number of Mas'ūd's Arabic verses in his *Hudā'iq al-Sihr*.

Persian and Indian poets are very fond of using the figure of speech called *Tawriyah* or *Īhām* which consists in the employment of two or more ambiguous terms, which at first sight appear to be used in one sense, though really they must be taken in quite a different meaning.

The following *Qit'ah* of Mas'ūd, cited by Waṭwāt contains this figure of speech :*

وليل كان الشمس ضلت ممرها وليس لها زحوا والمشارق مرجع
نظرت اليه و الظلام كانه علي الغربان من الجوى وقع
نقلت لقلبي طال ليالي وليس لي من الهم منجاة و في الصدر مفرع
ارى ذنب السرحان في الجوى طالعا فهل ممكن ان الغزاة تطلع

(I have seen many a night when the sun seemed to have lost its way and to be unable to return to the East and the darkness was just as if the crows were falling down from the sky upon the eye.

I said to my heart, "The night has been long and there is no escape for me from my grief and patience is my only recourse. I see that the false dawn is visible on the horizon. Is it then possible for the sun to rise?")

Here the beauty lies in the employment of two ambiguous words, ذنب السرحان which means 'false dawn' and 'the wolf's tail', and غزاله which means both 'the sun', and 'the deer.' The poet says that it is impossible for the sun (for which he uses the word غزاله meaning also 'deer') to appear when the false dawn (for which he employs the term ذنب السرحان signifying also 'the wolf's tail') is still visible.

Next comes the greatest Persian poet that India has ever produced, Amīr Khusraw. His reputation depends

* *Subhah*, p. 27.

entirely upon his Persian poems, yet he used to versify in Arabic also. Arabic verses occur here and there in his *Iʿjāz-i-Khusrawī* noticed in the last chapter but one. We also find some Arabic odes in his *Dīwāns*. His *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ* also contains scattered verses in Arabic. We have already noticed that he was fond of rhetorical devices and that he himself invented several. He composed one poem in which the first hemistich of each couplet is in Persian and the second in Arabic. In the preface of his *Dīwān* entitled *Ghurraṭ al-Kamāl*, he admits that he is not a good Arabic poet, but at the same time mentions Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn as a great Indian Arabic poet, whose poetry, he declares, surpassed that of Farazdaq and Jarir. Of this Shihāb al-Dīn, of whom Amīr Khusraw formed so high an opinion, very little is known. Shibli has made mention of him in his *Shi'r al-'Ajam* as the teacher of Amīr Khusraw.*

The following couplets which have been taken from a *Qaṣīdah* composed by Amīr Khusraw in praise of Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn (ruled A.D. 1295-1315) and which begin with the *Makhlāṣ*, i.e., the line connecting the erotic, introductory lines to the main theme of the panegyric, may serve as a specimen of his Arabic poetry :

بعد التشبيب

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ۱ - فی مہجتي سکنست محتبتہا کما | مدح الملیک المستعان إلا عظم |
| ۲ - اعني علاء الدین سلطان الوری | ملکاً تولد من سلالة آدم |
| ۳ - عین الحیا بل عینہ عین الحیا | یم الزدی بل کفہ عین الیم |
| ۴ - من جردۃ الفیاض قد یحکمی اذا | نغب الغراب علی رمیم الحاتم |
| ۵ - ماکان یعطش سیفہ بقرابہ | الا ویسقی من کوؤس جماجم |
| ۶ - رشح لمدحتک العلیۃ خسروا | بالشعر لیس کمثلہ فی العالم |
| ۷ - کن بالخلود علی الا رائک قاعداً | ہانا اخصک بالبقاء الدائم |

* Shibli, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, II. Account of Amīr Khusraw.

(Translation.)

1. Her love has housed in my soul, just as the
praise of the greatest and most helpful king
has done.
2. I mean 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, the lord of the universe,
who was born of the progeny of Adam as a king.
3. He is a fountain of modesty, nay, his eye is
embodiment of modesty. He is an ocean of
generosity, nay, his hand is identical with the
ocean.
4. Stories are related of his bounteous liberality,
when the crow sips water on the rotten bones
of Iḥātim.
5. His sword is never thirsty in its sheath but is, on
the other hand, watered from the cups of skulls.
6. Patronise Khusraw for his lofty panegyric in
praise of you, as there is no match to him
as poet in the world.
7. Continue perpetually sitting on the throne, as I
attribute perpetual existence to you exclusively.

Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn styled Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī, the
disciple of the famous Indian saint Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'
was an eminent Arabic scholar, and used to versify in that
language. The following couplet of his in praise of his
teacher, Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā of Oudh, is much appreciated
in India : *

سألت العلم من أحياء حقا فقال العلم شمس الدين يحيى

(I asked Knowledge, "Who has revived thee?" Know-
ledge replied: "Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā.")

There is a pun upon the word *Yaḥyā* which, if read
Yuhyī, means 'revives', a translation which is also applicable
here.

Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Muqtadir, the pupil of the same Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī and the teacher of Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, was a distinguished scholar and a good Arabic poet. His *Qaṣīdah al-Lāmiyyah*, composed in imitation of the *Lāmiyyat al-‘Ajam*, is admired for the elegance of its style, the beauty of the introductory lines, the appropriateness of the *Makhlāṣ* and the fertility of its imagination. The first couplet of this *Qaṣīdah* is

يا سائق الظعن في الاسحار والصل سام علي دار سلمى وابك ثم سلى

(O thou who drivest the camel-litters morning and evening, greet the camping-ground of Salmā and weep and then ask).

It has already been stated that Indian poets are very fond of using figures of speech. This *Qaṣīdah* is full of them. The very first couplet, just cited, contains the following four figures :

1. *Tajnīs-i-Zā'id* between سلم and سلمى ; and between سلمى and سلمى.
2. *Murā'āt al-Nazīr* throughout.
3. *San'at al-Ishtiḳāq* between سلم and سلمى.
4. *San'at-i-Tadādd* between *Ashār* (mornings) and *Uṣul* (evenings).

The poet, in the manner of a true ‘Arab poet, first asks the camel-driver to greet the camping-ground of his beloved and weep over it, and then to enquire about the beautiful damsel and the kings who have passed away. Then he turns to a love-theme and speaks of the beauties and charms of his own beloved who is inaccessible, being guarded by brave swordsmen and lancers. But somehow or other he secures access to her and she is surprised to see him and asks him how he managed to avoid the guards. He replies that he is not an ordinary man but a king who always chases tigers and lions. Thereupon his beloved

yields and says that she is at his mercy and is unable to resist such a warrior. But the poet rejects her offer and replies that he belongs to ~~that~~ that class of people who are pious and chaste. Then after praising the Muslim community, he turns towards the Prophet.

His similes are often very apt. One or two couplets from this very *Qasīdah* may be cited here.

بضيلة لوصول المستدام بها والجود في الخود مثل البخل في الرجل

(My beloved is miserly about allowing her lover to enjoy communion with her.) The poet appreciates this attitude on her part and adds that (Generosity in a beautiful woman is as undesirable as miserliness in a man.)

خيالها عند من يوي زيارتها احلي من الامن عند الخائف الرجل

(The vision of the beloved in the mind of him who longs to visit her, is even sweeter than safety to one who is in fear and dread.)

Aḥmad of Thānasar, who flourished about the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century of the *Hijra*, was an eminent scholar and a good poet. Timūr, having heard of his erudition, wanted him to accompany him when he left India, but Aḥmad was unwilling to leave his native country.* His *Qasīdat al-Dāliyyah* in praise of the Prophet has been much admired. He connects the customary introductory love-theme with the main purpose of his poem by saying:—

“Cease to talk of Laylā and her maidens and turn to the Prophet”—etc., etc.

Shāh Aḥmad Shar‘ī (d. 928/1521) of Chandiri (in Mālwah) used also to compose verses in Arabic.† Two couplets composed in reply to those of Zamakhshari in his satire on the Ash‘arites, are worthy of notice:

عجباً لقوم الظالمين تلقوا بالعدل يا فؤيم لعربي معرته
قد جاءهم من حيث لا يدرون تعطيل ذات الله مع نفى الصفة

* *Subhah*, 38.

† Rahmān ‘Alī, *Tadhkirah*, 84.

[I marvel at the tyrannical (unreasonable) folk who call themselves men of 'justice', though they have no knowledge of it at all. To them 'justice' (since they do not understand it at all) means God's being deprived of His very essence and the annihilation of His attributes.]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kālikūti of Mālābār, who flourished during the latter half of the tenth century of the *Hijra*, was also a poet. Little is known of his except that he belonged to a learned family of Ma'bar. His brother, Zayn al-Dīn, was the author of the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*, already noticed; his father, 'Abd-al-'Azīz, was a Qāḍī. 'Alī Muttaqī is reported by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī in his *Akḥbār al-Akhyār* to have met him and to have had a high opinion of him.* His grandfather was also a scholar and composed a treatise in verse on Sūfism, entitled *Ḥidāyat al-Adhkiyā*, already noticed. Our present poet versified the account of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, in a fairly long poem consisting of five hundred and three *Rajaz* verses, under the title of *al-Fath al-Mubīn Li'l-Sāmīrī Alladhī Yuhibb al-Muslimīn*. The subject-matter of this poem and of the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* is the same, but the one is in verse and the other in prose. Both the brothers were contemporary with the events related. The India Office Library contains a unique MS. of this poetical work.† In consideration of the subject-matter, this work may not be of much value, but it is not without some poetical merit. The narrative from beginning to end is simple and elegant. A few couplets may be quoted here to show the nature of the verses. After praise of God and the usual prayers for the Prophet, the poet continues :

فان هذي قصة عجيبة في شرح حرب شأنها غريبة

* 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Akḥbār al-Akhyār*, p. 268.

† Loth's Catalogue, No. 1044, VI.

واقعة في خطة الملبار و مثلها لم يجز في تلك الديار
 بين المحب المسلمين السامري و بين خصمة الفرنجي الكاذر
 نظمت بعضها و مالک الملوک لیسع القصه سائر الملوك
 لهم اذ سمعوا يفتكروا من في الحرب او لعلم يعتبرون
 لعلها تسير في الا فاق لا سيما في الشام والعراق
 و ليعلموا الهمة للسلطان السامري المشهور في البلدان
 صاحب كاليكوت المشهور لا زال من فضل الغنى المعروفة
 وهو محب ديننا الا سلام والمسلمين بين ذا الانام
 ناصر ديننا و مجرى شرعنا حتى بخطبتك على سلطاننا

[This is a wonderful story, giving an account of a strange war occurring in the land of Mālābār (and the like of it never took place in that country) between the lover of the Muslims, the Zamorin, and his enemy, the Infidel *Purangīs*. I have versified some part of it, by God, so that all kings may hear the story; so that they may, when they hear it, ponder over the war or may take a lesson, so that the story may go forth in all directions, especially to Syria and Mesopotamia, so that they may know of the courage of the king Zamorin, who is well-known in all places, the ruler of the celebrated Kālikūt (may it ever remain prosperous by the grace of God). He loves our religion Islām and the Muslims among mortals. He protects our religion and puts our law into force, so much so that the *Khutbah* is read in the name of our Sultān.]

Sayyid ‘Alī Khān Ibn Ma’sūm (1117/1705), who has been referred to several times in the foregoing pages, was a good poet. His poem *al-Badī‘yyah*, giving examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances, is recognised to be a valuable contribution to Arabic literature on rhetoric. The author also wrote a commentary on his own work. The *Sulāfuh* contains some poems of his.

Sayyid ‘Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1128/1715), who flourished in the time of Awrangzib and six of his successors, was a distinguished scholar and composed verses in four

languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi. Ibn Ma'sūm, the author of the *Sulāfah*, is reported to have said that he never saw in India a scholar so accomplished as he was*. Ghulām 'Alī Azād, the greatest Arabic poet of India, speaks highly of his poetry.† He was an expert in versifying chronograms. One of his ingenious chronograms is that which he composed on the conquest of the for al-Sitārah by Awrangzib.

١—لما توجه سلطان الانام الى * رب السموات في تاييد اسلام
٢—اقر ايهامه في اصل خنصره * لورد يا قادراً فتاح اكمام
٣—نصار حين افتتاح الاسم مفتوحا * حصنا امن عبدوا احجار اصنام
٤—نظارت في اللغات وهي اربعة * من فوق ايهامه من غير ايهام
٥—وجدت هن لعام الفتح حينئذ * رقما علي سنته من مد ايهام
٦—لله تلك يد بيضاء قد برغت * للناظرين فيها للمعجز السامع
٧—هذا البديع من التريخ انشائه * عبدالجليل بتايدات الهام

(Translation.)

1. When the king of the world turned his face towards the Lord of the Heavens for the help of Islām,
2. He placed his thumb at the base of his little finger to count the recitation of the formula يا قادراً فتاح اكمام (O Almighty God Who removes the calyxes of flowers).
3. As soon as he commenced the recitation of the Divine name, he conquered a fort which belonged to the worshippers of idols.
4. I looked into the four *Alifs* standing above his thumb.
5. I found them at that time to be a figure on the word *Sanah* (سنة) which is formed by the thumb lying down, to indicate the year of the conquest.

* *Subhah*, 80.

† *Ibid.*, 80.

6. How excellent this bright hand which has been miraculously held up for the spectators !
7. This is a very curious chronogram which 'Abdu 'l-Jalil has composed with Divine inspiration.

This victory was gained by 'Ālamgir in the year 1111/1699. For *Wird* counting is essential and the first number is counted by placing the top of one's thumb at the base of the little finger of the same hand. Now what the poet means to say is this that as soon as the king sat down turning his face towards God and counted the first recitation of the formula by placing his thumb at the base of his little finger, the fort was conquered, and this very position of his thumb and fingers indicated the year of the conquest, the four fingers standing for the four figures 1111 and the thumb lying down, for the small dash generally written in place of the word *Sanah* (year).

He was a poet of fertile imagination, and his poetry is fanciful throughout. One or two examples may be given here :

حبيبي قوس حاجبه كنون * وماد يد ابن مقلة شكل عينه
 لعمرى انه نص جلى * على ان الرماية حق عينه

[The eyebrow of my beloved is like the letter *Nūn* (ن) and the form of his eye is like the letter *Ṣād* (ص) written by Ibn Muqlah, the great calligrapher. The harmonious combination of the eyebrow and the eye, (that is of ن and ص) is a *Nass* (i.e., positive proof) of the fact that shooting glances is the right of his eye.] The word مقلة , which means the eyeball, is associated with the other words. This is the reason why the poet has chosen the name of Ibn Muqlah for this purpose.

حبيبي ثغره كالسمن شكلاً * وكالديم المدور شكل فيه
 هام ويا عجباً حياتي * اذا ما ذقته لا شك فيه

[The teeth of my beloved are like the letter *Sīn* (س) and his mouth like the rounded *Mīm* (م). The

combination of these two is مسم (poison), but it is strange that the more I taste it (*i.e.*, kiss his mouth and teeth) the more life do I gain.] Also note the pun that the same word فيه in the first hemistich means 'mouth' and in the second means 'in it.'

In short, he was a clever poet and had a complete mastery over every figure of speech. Waṭwāt says that a certain couplet by Badi' al-Zamān is so beautiful that no one could ever compose a verse to match it, but 'Abd al-Jalil succeeded in producing a couplet of the same type. The verse by al-Badi' runs :—

هو البدر إلا أنه البحر ذا خرواً * سوي أنه الضرع لم أنه الو بل

(He is the full moon but at the same time the ocean in swell. He is a lion but at the same time a shower of rain.)

'Abd al-Jalil's couplet runs :—

هو القطب إلا أنه البدر طالعاً سوي أنه المريخ لكنه السعد

(He is the pole-star but at the same time the full moon arising. He is Mars but at the same time auspicious.)

Sayyid Muḥammad (1158/1745), the son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalil, was also a fine poet and was fond of playing with words and phrases.

Bilgrām has produced many scholars and poets besides 'Abd al-Jalil, *e.g.*, Sayyid Ṭufayl Muḥammad (d. 1151/1738), Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1172/1758) and Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād (1200/1785) of whom I shall speak later on.

In Delhi the family of Shāh Wali Allāh was noted for its Islamic learning and also for Arabic poetry. He himself, his father 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and his sons 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, all used to compose Arabic verse. 'Abd al-Raḥīm's poem in reply to that by Abū 'Alī Sīnā on 'The Soul' is beautiful. Shāh Wali Allāh's Arabic panegyrics (in praise of the Prophet) with Persian commentaries by the

same author, have been published and are much appreciated. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz also sang the praises of the Prophet. Rafī' al-Dīn enlarged the poem of his grandfather on 'The Soul' by adding three hemistiches more to every couplet.

Muḥammad Bāqir of Madras (d. 1220/1805) left an Arabic *Diwān*; but I have failed to find a copy in any library. He was a prolific writer and left many works.

The most important Arabic poet of India is Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, of whom a short biographical sketch has already been given. Just as Amīr Khusraw enjoys the reputation of being the greatest Persian poet of India, Āzād holds a similar place in respect of Arabic poetry. But while it may be said of Amīr Khusraw that he was not an Indian in the strict sense of the word, as his father only came to India from Persia, Āzād was entirely Indian, as his ancestors had migrated to India several generations back.

Āzād left seven *Diwāns*, selections from which have been published under the title of *Sab'ah Sayyārah* (سبعة سياح). He composed a large number of panegyrics in praise of the Prophet, and collected these poems in a separate book with the title *Tasliyat al-Fu'ād* (تسلية القواد). He has rightly won the title of *Ḥassān al-Hind*, in comparison with Khaqānī, who is known as *Ḥassān al-'Ajam*.

That the poetry of Āzād has not received general recognition outside India, is due to the conditions of the times in which he lived. Communications and interchange of literary products between India and Egypt or Arabia were not so easy as those between Persia and India in the days of Khusraw. Moreover, every country has its own prejudice against the poetry produced by foreigners in its own language. Persians, for instance, will not recognise the worth and merit of Persian poetry produced by foreigners, and Amīr Khusraw and Faydī do not enjoy the same

amount of appreciation and admiration in Persia as they do in India or Turkey. Yet when the panegyrics of Āzād reached the scholars at Madinah, they appreciated them and presented them to the Sanctuary. When ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ṭanṭāwī, an eminent man of letters in Makkah, with whom our poet read *Ḥadīth*, heard his pupil’s *Qaṣ’id*, he much appreciated them, and when he learnt the meaning of his poetical name, Āzād, he said at once سیدی انت من عتق الله (Sir, you are one of those whom God has set free.)

Āzād was a born poet and had a fine taste for poetry. He composed poems in Persian also. He is the author of two Persian books on Persian poets which are much appreciated and used by scholars. It is rather strange that Brockelmann’s great history of Arabic literature contains no reference whatsoever to him or his work, although he mentions several Indian authors. Perhaps it may be due to the fact that he had not come across any work by Āzād. His *Subḥat al-Marjān*, which is the first book of its kind, was lithographed in Bombay as early as 1885. This book has already been noticed.

Āzād wrote a long poem of 105 couplets, entitled *Mir’at al-Jamāl*, describing and praising all the parts of the body, from the head to the foot, of the beloved, two couplets being devoted to each and every part. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, a prolific writer and a learned scholar of India (d. 1890), who reproduced this poem in his *Nashwat al-Sakarān*, says that Āzād was the first poet to compose this sort of poem in Arabic. Of course, solitary verses in praise of various parts of the beloved’s body are found more or less in the poetry of every poet. But just as Ṣafiyy al-Dīn Ḥillī was the first poet to compose a *Bad’iyyah*, though single examples of the figures of speech had been in existence for a long time, so Āzād’s *Mir’at al-Jamāl* is the first poem of its kind. Āzād himself says that he laid the foundation and started the building. Whosoever came

after him would simply add to the edifice. But 'no one,' says Nawwāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, 'has so far added anything to it.' A few verses from this poem may be cited here, to show the nature of the poem and also to point out the peculiarities of Āzād's poetry.

مطلق الحسن

(*Beauty in General*)

فى ظليمة من ابرق الحنان من مثلياً فى عالم الامكان
شمس تباهى بالسنا امة لها و كواكب اخرى من النمان

[I have (a beloved) whose beauty is as that of a gazelle of the valley of Abraḡ al-Hannān (noted for the beauty of its inhabitants). Who is like unto her in this world? The sun that boasts of its light is a maid-servant to her, and the other stars are her pages.]

الظفيرة

(*A lock of Hair*)

اضيرتان على بياض خدودها او فى كتاب الحسن سلسلتان
اوليتا العبدتين اقبلا معاً او من قصائد هم معلقتان

(Are there two locks of hair on the whiteness of her cheeks, or two marginal columns on the book of beauty, or two nights of the two 'Īd festivals that came together, or are they two of the Seven Panegyrics (hung on the Ka'bah)?) In the last hemistich, the face of the beloved has been compared to the Ka'bah which the Muslims venerate.

الجبهة

(*Forehead*)

لله جبهتها الضية فى الدجى وهب الله له علو مكان
هي نصف بدر كامل لغيرها تروى على القمرين فى اللامعان

[How beautifully her forehead shines in the darkness! God has bestowed on it a lofty place.

Though it (the forehead) is one-half of the full moon, yet it is above the two full moons (*i.e.*, cheeks) in brightness.]

العاجب
(*Eyebrow*)

'بصر حواجبها و ادرك كنهها غصنان منكفئان في وسط البان
او كائزان يشادوان ليوثعا آمالنا في موقع الكرمان

(Look at her eyebrows and understand their nature.

They are two curved branches at the centre of the *Bān* tree, or two infidels consulting together in order to frustrate our hopes.) One of the meanings of *Kufr* is 'darkness', hence the two eyebrows are compared to two *Kāfirs*.

العين
(*Eye*)

طرفنا الحبيبة ماكران تدارضا و تغافلا عن درية الجيران
او نر جسان على غصين واحد و هما بماء مسكر نقران

(Both the eyes of the beloved are cunning and pretending to be sick and to neglect looking at the neighbours. Or they are two narcissuses on a small bough, and both of them are fresh on account of intoxicating water.)

In short, these fifty stanzas, each consisting of two verses, contain a poetical and fanciful description of fifty parts of the beloved's body, and the remaining five verses form the conclusion of the poem. In this conclusion he gives the date of the composition, namely, (1187/1773) and claims originality for the poem, saying:—

ما ان سمعنا مثالا عن شاعر آزاد للطرز المنسطح بان

(We have not heard a similar poem from any poet. Azād is the inventor of this charming form.)

The following verses taken at random from Āzād's poetical works other than the *Mir'āt al-Jamāl* from

which we have just quoted several couplets, may further indicate his style:—

لا لكل حسين الوجه اشباه * ولا نظير لمن اقواه الا هو

(Every beautiful person has matches, but to my beloved there is no match except himself.)

خرد جليل لا يشاهد مثله * من ثم رويته شفاء الاحول

(He is a dignified unit whose parallel is never seen Hence looking at him is a cure for the squint-eyed.)

يا ايها الملك الرفيع جنبه * لم يلف في كل الودي لك ثاني

ظل لب العرش انت و ظاهره * ان لا يكون لواحد ظلان

(O king having a lofty threshold, no match to you can be found among all the creatures. You are the shadow of the Lord of the Divine throne and it is obvious that one person does not have two shadows.)

ان تبتغوا ماء الحياة فذالكم * في الهند لا في موضع الظلمات

(If you seek water of immortality, it will be found in India and not in the place of darknesses.)

هي خمرة الشاربين كرامة * ان انت تحسبها عقيقاً ذائباً

(It is wine for the drinkers or you may regard it as melting ruby.)

السرد يرجو ان يمس كعدة * ويفوز فوق الارض بالخطوات

و الورد امل ان يكون كعدة * فاني ببسط الكف للدعوات

(The cypress tree wishes to swagger like his stature and to move about with steps on the earth and; the rose desires to be like his cheek and so it has appeared with a palm open for prayers.)

صدر الامائل مولانا وسيدنا * جنبه قبلة الانسان و الملك

شم العجبال تعلت عنده سفهاً * وما درت انه اعلى من الملك

[He is superior to all his equals, he is our lord and our master. His threshold is a sacred place for the man and the angel. The summit of the mountains rises high

out of meanness before him, not knowing that it (his threshold) is higher than the sky.]

مررت علي طفل بديع جماله * يطالع مرثا و الكراديس في اليد
نقلت له لا زال علمك زائدا * أين لي بابا للألاني المعبود

(I passed by a handsome boy who was studying etymology and had some sheets of paper in his hand.

I said to him: 'May your knowledge be ever increasing, form for me a *Bāb* of the *Thulūthi Mujarrad*.)

Peculiarities of Āzād's Poetry.

1. An abundance of that form of fancy and imagination which is foreign to a genuinely Arabian poet, Āzād's poetry deviates from the poetry of the pre-Islāmic Arabs and of the poets of the early Islāmic period in the same way as Mutanabbi's poetry does. At the time of Mutanabbi Persian poetry had not fully developed, and so his poetry was much less influenced by the Persian mind than was Āzād's Arabic poetry, with the result that Āzād's Arabic poetry is richer in fancy and imagination, though poorer in poetical power and linguistic merits than Mutanabbi's.

2. Āzād is very fond of using figures of speech and rhetorical devices. This tendency is to a great extent an Indian characteristic. Amīr Khusrāw also had the same taste. His *Ijāz-i-Khusrāwī* and *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* are more or less rhetorical products. Āzād himself introduced several figures of speech, as has already been pointed out. He also composed a *Badi'iyyah*.

3. Before Āzād, Hindi and Sanskrit poetry never influenced Arabic poetry. During Akbar's time there had been one poet who used to compose Arabic verses according to Hindi metres, but that was quite a different thing. Perhaps it was meant for amusement and not as a serious literary effort. Āzād introduced Hindi and Sanskrit

similes into his poetry. He also made use of some Hindi and Sanskrit figures of speech in his Arabic verses. Examples have already been given in the account of his *Subḥat al-Marjān*.

4. Āzād composed Arabic poems in all the forms of Persian poetry. In his poetry we find many examples of *Rubā'ī*, *Mathnawī*, *Mustazād*, etc. Arabic *Urjūzah Muzdawijah* corresponds to Persian *Mathnawī* as far as the question of rhyming is concerned; but in respect of metres they differ from each other. Āzād introduced the metres of Persian *Mathnawī* to Arabian *Muzdawijah*, and composed *Mathnawīs* in Arabic also. His *Mazhar al-Barakāt* is an Arabic *Mathnawī* composed in a purely Persian metre. About this *Mathnawī*, Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan has remarked that it is well composed.*

*Siddiq Hasan, *Abjad*, p. 922.

PART II

(List of the Arabic Works Composed in India or by Indians.)

Arrangement of the List of the Arabic Works Written in India or by Indians.

1. The list is divided under the same eleven headings as the first part of the thesis.

2. Under each head, authors are arranged chronologically according to the dates of their death or the period in which they flourished. The names of those authors whose date could not be ascertained are given at the end of each section under the sub-heading "Works of Unknown Dates."

3. After the name of each author, a short biographical information is given, followed by the sources for his life, arranged in the order of date. Then are given cross-references to the different sections under which other works of his are mentioned. Biographical authorities of an author are given only in that section in which his work is mentioned for the first time. In subsequent sections references only are given.

4. In each section, the works of an author have been arranged under three heads : A, B and C. Under A only printed works are given, with indications of libraries in which MSS. of these works may be found. Under B only such MSS. are mentioned as are not known to me to have been published. Under C those works are mentioned the titles of which have come down to us but no copies are known to exist, the source of the information being mentioned.

5. At the end, the titles of all the Indian works are arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the names of the authors.

List of Abbreviations used in Part II only.

(N.B.—The titles, etc., of the books quoted once or twice only are given in full wherever they occur.)

ABJAD: *Abjad al-'Ulūm* by Nawwāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan Khān.

Ā'IN: *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* by Abu 'l-Faḍl edited by Blochman.

AKHBĀR: *Akhlār al-akhḡār* by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi, Muḡtabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1309.

ĀZĀD: *Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind* by Muḡammad Ḥusayn Āzād.

BADĀ'ŪNĪ: *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī (Bibliotheca Indica).

BEALE: *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale; new edition revised and enlarged by H. G. Keene.

BROCKELMANN: *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, two volumes, by Dr. C. Brockelmann.

ELLIOT: *History of India* by Sir H. M. Elliot, edited by Professor J. Dowson.

FARHĀT: *Farḡatu 'l-Nāẓrīn* by Muḡammad Aslam b. Muḡammad Ḥāfīz, published in the Oriental Magazine of Lahore, No. XIV.

AL-FAWĀ'ID: *Al-fawā'id al-baḡiyyah fī tarājīm al-Ḥanafiyyah* by Muḡammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī.

FARANGĪ: *Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Farangī Maḡall* by 'Ināyat Allāh.

FIRISHTAH: *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* by M. Qāsim Firishtah.

ḤADĀ'IQ: *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafiyyah* by Faqīr Muḡammad Lāhorī.

- ITHAF: *Ithāf al-nubalā' bi-ihyā' ma'āthir a'-fuqahā' al-muḥadathīn*, by Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, Cawnpore.
- KHALĪFAH: *Kashf al-zunūn*... by Ḥājji Khalifah, Leipzig.
- JURJĪ ZAYDĀN: *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah* by Jurji Zaydān, Cairo.
- KASUF: *Kashf al-ḥujub wa 'l-astār 'an asmā' al-kutub wa 'l-asfār* by I'jāz Ḥusayn of Kantūr (Bibliotheca Indica).
- AL-KAWĀKIB: *Al-kawākib al-sā'irah bi manāqib a'yān al-mī'at al-'āshirah* by Najm al-Dīn M. b. M. (MS. in British Museum).
- MA'ĀTHIR: *Ma'āthir al-kirām* by S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī.
- MAḤBŪB: *Maḥbūb al-albāb fī ta'rīf al-kutub wa 'l kuttāb* by Khudā Bakhsh, Ḥaydarabad, 1314.
- MUḤIBBĪ: *Khulāṣat al-athar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar* by Muḥammad Muḥibbī.
- MU'JAM: *Mu'jam al-Maḥbū'āt al-'Arabiyyah wa'l Mu'arrabah* by Yūsuf Sarkīs, Cairo.
- MURADĪ: *Silk al-durar fī a'yān al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar*, by Muḥammad Khalil Efendī Murādī.
- NADHĪR AḤMAD: *Notes on important Arabic and Persian MSS. found in various Libraries in India*, by Ḥafiz Nadhīr Aḥmad (in the J. A. S. B. Vols. xiii and xiv).
- NUḤĀT: *Akhbār-ī-nuḥāt* by Wakīl-Aḥmad.
- NUJŪM: *Nujūm al-Samā'* by Muḥammad 'Alī Kashmīrī.
- AL-NŪR: *Al-nūr al-sāfir 'an akhbār al-qarn al-'āshir* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydārūs (MS. in the British Museum).

NUZHAT: *Nuzhatu 'l-Khawāṭir* by Mawlawī 'Abdu l-Ḥayy of Lucknow, (only a portion has been published and the rest exists in MS. which is in the possession of his son, Dr. 'Abdu l-'Alī.

QĀMŪS: *Qāmūs al-Mashāhīr* by Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Badā'ūnī.

RAWDAT AL-ABRĀR: by Muḥammad Ābu 'l-Ḥasan known as Muḥammad al-Dīn Qādirī of Lahore, Jihlam, 1885.

SAFĪNAH: *Safīnat al-aḥliyā'* by Dārā Shukūh.

SUBḤAH: *Subḥat al-marjān fī āthār Hindustān* by S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.

ṬABAQĀT: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shahjahānī* by Muḥammad Ṣādiq (MS. in the British Museum).

TADHKIRAH: *Tadhkirah-i-'ulamā'-i-Hind* by Raḥmān 'Alī, Lucknow, 1914.

TAJALLĪ: *Tajallī-i-nūr ma'rūf bi Tadhkirah-i-Mashāhīr-i-Jawnpūr* by S. Nūr-al-Dīn Zaydī, Part II.

WÜESTENFELD: *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre werke* by Wüstenfeld.



List of Abbreviations used for the Catalogues of Different Libraries and Collections of Manuscripts.

[*N.B.*—The titles of the catalogues of the libraries, referred to once or twice, are given in full wherever they occur. The abbreviations other than the following are either obvious or at least known to the Orientalists concerned.]

‘ABD ALIĀH—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Chelebī* ‘Abd Allāh, Constantinople.

ALGER—*Alger Catalogue general des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France.*

‘ALĪGARH—*Fihrist-i-nusakh-i-qalamī* of Subhān Allāh’s Oriental Library, Muslim University, ‘Aligarh.

‘AMŪJAH ḤUSAYN—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah* of ‘Amūjah Ḥusayn, Constantinople.

‘ĀRIF—Catalogue of the Library of ‘Ārif Ḥikmat Bey at Madinah, (in the *Ma‘ūrif* of Aẓamgarh, Vol. XVIII, pp. 333.)

AS‘AD ĀYĀ—Catalogue of the Library of As‘ad Āyā at Constantinople.

AS‘AD EFENDĪ—Catalogue of the Library of As‘ad Efendī at Constantinople.

AS‘AD EFENDĪ MADRASAH—Catalogue of the Library of As‘ad Efendī’s Madrasah at Constantinople.

ĀṢAFIYYAH—*Fihrist-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Āṣaḥfiyyah*, *Haydarābād.*

‘ĀSHIR—Catalogue of ‘Āshir Efendī’s Library at Constantinople.

‘ĀṬIF—Catalogue of ‘Āṭif’s Library at Constantinople.

ĀYĀ ṢŪFIYAH—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Āyā Ṣūfiyah*, Constantinople.

BĀNKĪPŪR—Catalogues of the Arabic MSS. at Bānkīpūr.

BASHĪR ĀGHĀ—Catalogue of Bashīr Āghā's Library at Constantinople.

BENGAL—Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian books and
 • manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf 'Alī.

BENGAL I—List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1903-7.

BENGAL II—List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1908-10.

BERLIN—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the Berlin Library, compiled by Ahlwardt.

BOMBAY—Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian books and MSS. in the Bombay University Library.

BRITISH MUSEUM—Catalogues of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum.

BŪHĀR—*Catalogue raisonne of the Būhār Library*, Vol. II. Arabic MSS.

CALCUTTA—*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamālū' d-Dīn and 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir.*

CAMBRIDGE—Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, compiled by Palmer.

CAIRO—Catalogue of the Arabic books and manuscripts in the Khidiwī Kutubkhānah of Cairo.

DAMĀD IBRĀHĪM—Catalogue of the Library of Dāmād Ibrāhīm at Constantinople.

DĀMĀD QĀDĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Dāmād Qādī at Constantinople.

DĀMĀD ZĀDAH—Catalogue of Dāmād Zādah's Library at Constantinople.

- DELHI—Hand-written Catalogue of Arabic Delhi MSS. in the India Office.
- DĪN PASHĀ—Catalogue of Dīn Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.
- EDINBURGH—*A descriptive list of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in Edinburgh University Library.*
- ESCUR—Derenbourg, H. *Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Eseurial I.*
- ETHE—Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office.
- FĀTIH—*Daftar-t-Fātiḥ Kutubkhānahsī*, Constantinople.
- FAYD ALLAH—Catalogue of the Library of Fayd Allāh at Constantinople.
- ḤAMĪDIYYAH—Catalogue of the Ḥamīdiyyah Library at Constantinople.
- ḤUSAYN PASHĀ—Catalogue of Ḥusayn Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.
- INDIA OFFICE—The second volume of the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library by Mr. C. A. Storey and Mr. A. J. Arberry.
- ISMĪKHĀN—Catalogue of Ismīkhān's Library, at Constantinople.
- IVANOW—Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Ivanow.
- JĀMI' SHARĪFĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Jāmi' Sharifi at Constantinople.
- KAMANKASH—Catalogue of the Library of Amir Khwājah Kamān Kash at Constantinople.
- KHUSRAW—Catalogue of Khusrāw Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.
- KOPRILĪ—Catalogue of Koprīlizādah at Constantinople.

LĀLAH-LĪ—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Lālah-lī*, Constantinople.

LEYDEN—*Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.

LOTH—*A Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library*, compiled by Loth.

MADRĀS—*Alphabetical Index of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madrās*.

MAHMŪD—*Catalogue of Maḥmūd Pāshā's Library at Constantinople*.

MAḤBŪB—*Maḥbūbu 'l-albāb fī ta'rif al-Kutub wa 'l-Kuttāb* by Khudā Bakhsh (A Catalogue of his private Library, now at Bānkīpūr).

MIFTĀḤ—A hand list of the Arabic MSS. in the Bānkīpūr Library, entitled *Miftāḥu 'l-Kunūz*, compiled by 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd.

MIHRSHĀH—*Catalogue of the Library of Mihrshāh at Constantinople*.

MORLEY—*A descriptive Catalogue of the historical MSS. in the Arabic and Persian languages preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

NADHĪR AḤMAD—Notes on important Arabic and Persian MSS. found in various Libraries in India by Ḥāfiẓ Nadhīr Aḥmad (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. xiii, pp. lxxvii—cxxxix and Vol. xiv, pp. cxcix—ccclvi).

NADWAH—*Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian books found in MSS. in the Library of Nadwatu 'l-'ulamā', Lucknow*.

NADWAH (N)—*Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the collection presented by Nawwāb Nūru 'l-Ḥasan to the Nadwah*.

NŪR-I-'UTHMĀNIYYAH—*A Catalogue of the Nūr-i-'Uthmāniyyah Library at Constantinople*.

PARIS—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the National Library of Paris, compiled by de Slane.

PESHĀWAR—*Lubāb al-Ma'ārif al-'ilmiyyah fī maktabat Dār al-'ulūm al-Islāmiyyah* (لباب المعارف العلمية) (فى مكتبة دارالعلوم الاسلاميه) by 'Abd al-Raḥīm, (A Catalogue of the Oriental Section of the Library of the Islāmiyyah College, Peshāwar.)

PET—Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg.

PET. ROS.—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Institute of the Oriental Languages, St. Petersburg, compiled by Rosen.

PĪR MUḤAMMAD SHĀH—Catalogue of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh Library at Aḥmadābād.

QILIJ 'ALĪ—Catalogue of Qilij 'Alī Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

RAGHIB—Catalogue of Raghīb Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

RAMPŪR—Catalogue of the Rāmpūr State Library.

RIEU—Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, compiled by Rieu.

SALĪM ĀGHĀ—Catalogue of Salīm Aghā's Library at Constantinople.

SARWĪLĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Sarwili at Constantinople.

SULAYMANĪYYAH—Catalogue of the Sulaymāniyyah Library at Constantinople.

UGHLĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Ughli at Constantinople.

UPSALA—*Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis.*

YAHYĀ—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Yahyā Efendī*, Constantinople.

YENĪ—Catalogue of the Yeni Library at Constantinople.

VIENNA—A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vienna Library by Flügel.

WALĪ AL-DĪN—Catalogue of Walī al-Dīn's Library at Constantinople.

SECTION I

QUR'ĀNIC LITERATURE.

1. Abū Bakr Ishāq b. Tāj al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Bakrī al-Multānī al-Ḥanafī, called Ibn al-Tāj (d. after 736/1335).

Nothing is known of him except that he is the author of several works.

[1. Brockelmann ii 220, 2. Storey 51.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

B. *Khulāṣat jawāhir al Qur'ān fī bayān ma'ūnī al-Furqān* (خلاصة جواهر القرآن في بيان معاني الفرقان) * : Berlin 876.

C. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* (جواهر القرآن) : (Mentioned in his introduction to the *Khulāṣah*)

2. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadhānī (786/1384).

He was born in 714 A. H. at Hamadhān and was a disciple of 'Alā'u 'd-Dawlah Samnānī. He travelled extensively. In 781 he with 700 Sayyids emigrated to Kashmir where he acquired a great influence over Quṭb al-Dīn Shāh, the ruler of the country.

[1. Jāmī, Nafahāt 518, 2. Ṭabaqāt folio 13 b, 3. Ḥadā'iq 297, 4. History of Kashmir, J.R.A.S. of Bengal xxiii p. 414, xxxiii p. 278, 5. Rieu, Persian Cat. 447, 6. Brockelmann ii 221, 7. Tadhkirah 148, 8. Rawḍat 12, 9. Nuzhat 87, 10. Qāmūs i 317.]

(For other works of his, see sections II and IV).

*Mr. Storey has included this work in his Qur'ānic Section of his *Persian Literature* simply because the author has given the Persian meanings of some Qur'ānic words. It is really an Arabic work in which Arabic has been used as the medium of expression throughout. Only the meanings of some words have also been given in Persian.

B. *Al-Risālah fi 'l-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* (الرسالة فى النسخ و المنسوخ): Delhi 981 b.

3. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imi (835/1432).

For a short account of his life, refer to p. 15.

[1. Akhbār 174, 2. Ma'āthir, 189, 3. Subḥah 39, 4. Abjad 893, 5. Maḥbūb 50, 6. Tadhkirah 147, 7. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's *Taqrīz* on the *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī*, lithographed at Bombay, p. 10, 8. Brockelmann ii 221, 9. Azād 16.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

A. *Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān*, (تفسير الرحمن و تيسير المنان بعض ما يشير الى اعجاز القرآن) MSS.: Berlin 870, 925, 931; Koprili 84-7; Qilij 'Alī 42; Loth 97-8, Dāmād Ibrāhīm 127; Cairo I 135; see Brockelmann and also India Office 1142.

C. *Al-Risālah fī bayān wujūh i'rāḥ qawliḥi Ta'ālā Alif-lām-mīm dhālika.....li 'l-muttaqīn* (الرسالة فى بيان وجوه اعراب قوله تعالى : ا لم ذالك الكتاب ... للمتقين) (N.B.—The *Subḥah* p. 40 contains an extract from it.)

4. Khwājah Ḥusayn Nāgorī (901/1495).

He was a descendant of Qādī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn Nāgorī. He stayed for a long time in Gujarāt where he became a disciple of Shaykh Kabir.

[1. Ā'in ii 222, 2. Tadhkirah 49.]

(For an other work of his, see section IX.)

C *Nūr al-nabī* (نور النبى) (see *Tadhkirah* 49).

5. Ilāhdād Jawnpūrī (932/1525).

He was the pupil both of 'Abd Allāh Tulanbī and 'Abd al-Malik 'Ādil Jawnpūrī who himself was a pupil of Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī, the well-known qādī 'l-quḥāt of Jawnpūr in the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

- [1. Akhbār 191, 2. Ṭabaqāt 128, 3. Ma'āthir 192, 4. Subḥah 43, 5. Abjad 894, 6. Ḥadā'iq 364, 7. Tajalli 39, 8. Tadhkirah 25, 9. Maḥbūb 376, 10. Āzād 19.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Madārik al-tanzīl* (حاشیه علی مدارک التزیل) (Sūrahs i—xiii 37): India Office 1137.

6. Khaṭīb Abu 'l Faḍl Gāzarūnī Gujarāṭī (959/1551).

He was a pupil of Mullā Jalālu 'd-Dīn Dawwānī and also of Muḥyī al-Dīn who was an eminent pupil of the celebrated Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī. He was attracted to India by the Kings of Gujarat. He was one of the teachers of Shaykh Mubārak, the father of the well-known brothers Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī and Abu 'l-Faḍl.

- [1. Ā'in ii 261, 2. Ṭabaqāt 169 b, 3. Nuḥāt 119]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī* (حاشیه علی تفسیر البیضاوی): Peshāwar 48, Rāmpūr 27.

7. 'Alī Mutaqī b. Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn of Burhānpūr (975/1567).

He was a celebrated Indian saint and scholar who was born at Burhānpūr in 885, settled eventually at Mecca and died there.

- [1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir under the year 975, 2. Akhbār 248, 3. Zād al-muttaqīn folio 183b, 4. Safinah 191, 5. Ṭabaqāt folio 183b, 6. Ma'āthir 192, 7. Subḥah 43, 8. Abjad 895, 9. Ithāf 326, 10. Ḥadā'iq 382, 11. Maḥbūb 147, 12. Tadhkirah 146, 13. Azād 19.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, XI.)

B. *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalat* (شؤون المنزلات): Delhi 53, India Office 1152.

(N.B.—As his *Khalīfah* 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī used to make fair copies of the works of his teacher, this work has been wrongly assigned to him (the pupil). The account of

his, given by his pupil 'Abī al-Ḥaqq in his *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, mentions no works of him.)

8. **Abū Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Miẓānī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn** (982/1574).

He was an eminent scholar and Ṣūfī of Aḥmadābād. [1. Brockelmann ii 417, 2. Tadhkirah 214].

B. *Al-Taḥsīn al-Muḥammadi* also entitled *Kāshif al-Ḥaqqīq wa qāmūs al-diqā'iq* (الكاشف المحمدي): Loth 103, Bengal A. e. 20, Pir Muḥd. Sh. Library.

9. **Wajihu 'd-Dīn al-'Alawī of Gujarāt** (998/1589).

He was both a saint and scholar who was born in 911 at Japānīr, a village in Gujarāt. He was a pupil of Mullā 'Imād Ṭāramī. He had a great influence over Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. He wrote several works on various branches of Islāmic learning.

[1. Akhbār 159, 2. Badā'ūnī iii 43, 3. Ṭabaqāt 202b, 4. Safīnah 193, 5. Ma'āthir 196, 6. Subḥah 45, 7. Abjad 896, 8. Ḥadā'iq 388, 9. Tadhkirah 249, 10. Āzād 27.]
(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, VII, IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Taḥsīn al-Bayḍārī* (حاشية علي): Āṣafīyah iv 210.

10. **Shaykh Mubārak b. Shaykh Khidr** (1001/1593.)

Shaykh Mubārak, the father of the celebrated Fayḍī and Abū 'l-Faḍl, was born in 911 at Nāgor. While at Aḥmadābād, he received his education from Khaṭīb Abū 'l-Faḍl Gāzarūnī and Mullā 'Imād Ṭāramī.

[1. Ā'in ii 26, 2. Badā'ūnī iii 73, 3. Ṭabaqāt 210b, 4. Ma'āthir 197, 5. Beale 371, 6. Ḥadā'iq 394, 7. Tadhkirah 174, 8. Qāmūs ii 30.]

C. *Manba' nafa'is al-'ulūm* (منبع نفائس العلوم) according to Badā'ūnī and the Ṭabaqāt but *Manba' 'uyūn al-ma'ānī* (منبع عيون المعاني) according to the Ma'āthir.

11. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī b. Sh. Mubārak (1004/1595).

Fayḍī, the Persian poet-laureate of Akbar's court, was born in 954 at Agra. He received his education from his father.

- [1. Badā'ūnī iii 299, 2. Ā'in iii 218, 3. Ṭabaqāt 247, 4. Ma'āthir al' umarā' ii 584, 5. Ma'āthir 198, 6. Subḥah 45, 7. Beale 125, 8. Abjad 897, 9. Brockelmann ii 417, 10. Tadhkirah 4, 11. Āzād 25, 12. Qāmūs ii 133.]

(For other work of his, see section IV and IX.)

A. *Sarwāḥ al-Iḥām* (سواطع الإيham)

MSS: Leid 1702; Loth 104-5; Cairo i 178
Hamīdiyyah 88; Walī al-Dīn 185; Āyā
Ṣūfiyah 180; Nūr 'Uḥmānī 339; Koprili
113; Dāmād Ibrāhīm 128; Lālah li 142;
Miftāḥ 292. Nadwah (N) 3/2.

12. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf Shūstari (1019/1610).

He was an eminent scholar of Persia and through the good services of Ḥakīm Abu' l-Faṭḥ, he entered the service of Akbar who appointed him *qāḍī* at Lahore. He was a zealous Shī'ah. He wrote several works, of which the *Majālis 'l-mu'minīn* in Persian is the best known.

- [1. Badā'ūnī iii 137, 2. Ṭabaqāt 249, 3. Beale 306, 4. Nujūm 9, (Page 16 contains a list of his works.)
5. Tadhkirah 246, 6. Qāmūs ii 270.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, VI, IX.)

B. i. *Ḥaṣṣiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī* (حاشیه علی تفسیر البیضاوی): Miftāḥ 268; Bengal, ii 285; Peshāwar 37.

ii. *Kaṣṣf al-awār fī tafsīr āyat al-ghār* (کشف العوار فی تفسیر آیت الغار): Bengal ii 821.

iii. *Mūnis al-wahid* (مونس الوحید): Ibid 1029.

iv. *Al-Saḥāb al-maṭīr fī tafsīr āyat al-taḥrīr* (السحاب المطیر فی تفسیر آية التحرير), a commentary on the verse ix, 28: Ibid 484.

- C. i. *Tafsīr āyah wa kadhālika ḡal-nāḡum ummat* (تفسير آية و كذا لك جعلناكم أمة), a commentary on the verse ii, 143: *Kashf al-Iḡjub*
- ii. *Tafsīr āyat al-ru'yā* (تفسير آية الرؤيا): Ibid.
13. Mirzā Badi' al-Zamān, entitled *Rashīd Khān* (during Jahāngir's reign: 1014-1037/1605-1628).
- B. *Badi'u'l-madārik* (بدیع المدارک فی تدریج آیات): 'Aligarh 94.
14. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḡammad 'Arif al-'Uṡhmānī, known as 'Abd al-Nabī Shaṡṡārī (date of composition: 1020/1611.)

He was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Ṣūfī Shaṡṡārī of Agra. He wrote many works on various topics. The date of his death is not known. At the end of his book *Fawā'id al-anwār*, he says that he has completed it in 1020. This shows that he was living upto that year.

[Tadhkirah 135]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VI, IX, X.)

- C. *Dastūru'l-Muṡannifin* (دستور المصنفين): Ibid.
15. Abū Bakr Muḡyī al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūsī of Aḡmadābād (1038/1628).

His ancestors had emigrated from Yaman and Hadramawt to India. He was born in 978 at Aḡmadābād. He was an eminent scholar and Ṣūfī and composed many works, all in Arabic.

- [1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir, folio 117, (Autobiography), 2. Muḡibbī ii 440, 3. Ḥadā'iq 406, 4. Tadhkirah 129, 5. Al-fawā'id 36 (margine), 6. Wüstenfeld No. 556, 7. Brockelmann ii 419.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V, VIII, X.)

- B. *Al-Faṡḡ al-quṡī fi tafsīr āyat al-kursī* (الفتح القدسي في تفسير آية الكرسي), a commentary on the verse ii, 256: Būhār No. 457 iv.

16. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī b. Sayf al-Dīn of Delhi (1052/1642).

He was a descendant of one of Amīr Timūr's followers who had remained at Delhi. He was born in 958. He was a great *Mohādith* in India. He wrote works on many subjects both in Persian and Arabic.

[1. Akhbār 300 (Autobiography), 2. Badā'ūnī iii 113, 3. Ṭabaqāt 299, 4. Ma'āhir 200, 5. Subḥah 52, 6. Abjad 900, 7. Ithāf 303, 8. Ḥadā'iq 409, 9. Tadhkirah 108, 10. Elliot 175, 11. Beale 3, 12. Encyclo. Islām i 39, 13. Qāmūs ii 57.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VI, VIII.)

B. *Sharḥ al-qisṣat al-jazariyyah* (شرح القصيدة الجزرية): Peshāwar 1092.

17. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

He was a descendant of the celebrated Indian Saint Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shākarganj. He was born in 996 at Ṣadrpūr, a village in Oudh. He was an eminent pupil of Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhorī and a class-fellow of Sa'd Allāh Khān, the celebrated minister to Shāh-jahān. He was a great scholar and eminent Ṣūfī who closely followed the philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī and expounded his ideas so much so that in India he won the title of Ibn 'Arabī of India'.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 412, 2. Tadhkirah 175, 3. Maḥbūb 375, 4. Dhikr al-ma'ārif (His biography by Shawkat Ḥusayn, Allahabad 1928) 5. Qāmūs ii 176.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI.)

B. i. *Tarjamat al-Kitāb* (ترجمة الكتاب): Delhi 275, India Office 1369.

ii. *Hāshiyat tarjamat al-kitāb* (حاشية ترجمة الكتاب): Delhi 1790, India Office 1357.

18. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656).

He was born in 968. He was a pupil of Kamālu 'd-Dīn

Kashmirī. He was an eminent theologian, well versed in all the branches of Islamic learning. Shāh-jahān had a high regard for him. He wrote several books the reputation of which spread far and wide in his life time.

[1. *Ṭabaqāt* 306, 2. *Farḥat* 740, 3. *Ma'āthir* 204, 4. *Subḥah* 66, 5. *Muḥibbī* ii 318, 6. *Abjad* 902, 7. *Ḥadā'iq* 414, 8. *Beale* 4, 9. *Maḥbūb* 174, 10. *Ṭarab al-amādhil* 252, 11. *Tadhkirah* 110, 12. *Brockelmann* ii 417, 13. *Āzād* 36, 14. *Qāmūs* ii 57.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI, IX.)

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā-tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشیہ علی تفسیر البیضاوی) :

MSS.—*Āṣafiyyah* 542-4; *Rāmpūr* 28; *Bengal* i p. 4; *Būhār* 6; *Loth* 90, 91; *Peshāwar* 42; *Princeton* 208; *India Office* 1122; about 20 of the Constantinople catalogues (see *India Office* 1122).

B. *Ḥāshiyah al-Kashshūf* (حاشیہ الكشاف): *Rāmpūr* 31.

19. 'Abd al-Salām of *Diwāl* (during Shāh-jahān's reign).

He was a pupil of his namesake 'Abd al-Salām of *Lahore*. Shāh-jahān appointed him *Muftī* in the royal camp.

[1. *Ṭabaqāt* 309, 2. *Ma'āthir* 235.]

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā-Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشیہ علی تفسیر البیضاوی): *Ma'āthir* 236.

20. Shāh 'Abd Allāh, commonly called *Jalabī Ṣāhib* (Composed in 1070/1659).

Concerning him, nothing is known. He dedicated his work to *Awrangzib*.

B. *Farīdat al-zamānah fī tafsīr āyahinna 'aradna 'l-amānah* (فریدتہ الزمانہ تفسیر آیتہ انا عرضنا الا مائتہ) (a commentary on the verse xxxiii 72): *India Office* 1156.

21. Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi (1073/1662.)

He was a pupil of his father and a disciple of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Mujaddidī. He was a *qāḍī* at Agra in the time of Shāh-jahān.

[1. *Ṭabaqāt* 310, 2. *Farḥat* xiv 58, 3. *Ma'āthir* 201, 4. *Subḥah* 53, 5. *Abjad* 901, 6. *Ithāf* 426, 7. *Ḥadā'iq* 418, 8. *Beale* 306, 9. *Rieu Pers.* p. 224, 10. *Tadhkirah* 246, 11. *Ency. Islām* i 971, 12. *Āzād* 33.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* (تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Bengal ii 204.

22. Muḥammad 'Alī Karbalā'i (dedicated his work to Sultān 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh of Golconda-1035-1083).

He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ibn Khātūn al-Āmili who was minister to 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh.

[See Storey No. 84.]

B. *Hādiyah-i-Quṭb Shāhī* (هادیه قطب شاهى): Ibid.

23. Shāh 'Īsā Jund Allāh of Burhānpūr (11th century.)

He was a scholar and ṣūfī of Burhānpūr.

[1. *Ḥadā'iq* 404, 2. *Tadhkirah* 153.]

C. *Anwār al-asrār* (انوار الاسرار): Ibid.

24. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Laṭīf b. Sh. Jamāl al-Nahrwālī (11th century A.H.)

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

C. i. *Al-Jāmi' al-'ilmī* (الجامع العلمى): (See Bānkī-pūr 1262.)

ii. *Al-Nūr al-azhar* (النور الازهر): Ibid.

25. Ismā'il b. Sayyid Ja'far al-Thānī (11th century A. H.)

B. *Al-Risālah fi 'l-qir'at*, (الرسالة فى القراءات): Bānkīpūr 1262.

26. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbūh (11th century A. H.)
(For other works of his, see sections II, III, VI, IX.)

B. *Al-Risālah fī tafsīr sūrah al-Fātiḥah* (الرسالة في تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Bānkipūr 1779, iii.

27. Jalāl b. Naṣīr Chanābī (11th century A. H.)

(For an other work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية على تفسير البيهقي): India Office 1119.

28. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (11th century.)

He was one of the eminent scholars of Awrangzib's time.

[Swānīḥāt-i-'umr-i-'Abd al-Ḥakīm by Muḥammad al-Dīn p. 40.]

B. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Fātiḥah* (تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Rām-pūr 25.

29. Mir Muḥammad Zāhid b. Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī Kābulī Hindī (1101/1689).

He was one of the great scholars of his time. He served both Shāh-jahān and Awrangzib in various capacities. In the end the latter appointed him *Sadr* at Kābul. He was chiefly interested in philosophical and scholastic studies. His books are highly esteemed in India.

[1. Farḥat (Oriental Magazine of Lahore xiv 80), 2. Ma'āthir 206, 3. Subḥah 67, 4. Abjad 902, 5. Ḥada'iq 428, 6. Tadhkirah 187, 7. Āzād 38, 8. Qāmūs ii 191.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

B. *Tafsīr-i-zāhidī* from Sūrah xvii upto the end (تفسير زاهدی): 'Aligarh 96.

30. Muḥammad Kāshif Ḥanafī (composed in 1101/1689.)

B. *Al-Mūḍīḥ al-faṣīḥ fī tafsīr sūrah yūsuf* (الموضح الفصيح في تفسير سورة يوسف): Loth 1036 vii.

31. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu'l-Majd Mahbūb 'Ālam b. S. Ja'far of Aḥmadābād (1111/1699.)

He was one of the eminent saints and scholars of Aḥmadābād. He was born in 1047.

[Tadhkira 214].

(For an other work of his, see section II.)

C. A commentary on the *Qur'ān* (just like al-Jalālayn). (تفسير القرآن): Ibid.

32. Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Sa'īd, entitled Muqarrab Khān (in Awrangzib's time).

See Storey No. 85.

A. *Nuḥūm al-furqān* (نحوم الفرقان): Lithographed with an Arabic version of the Author's Persian introduction at Madras.

B. i. *Anārāt kalām al-Raḥmān* (امارات كلام الرحمن):

See Storey No. 85 (2), Nadhīr Aḥmad 16.

ii. *Aqsām āyāt al-qur'ān* (اقسام آيات القرآن)

(A classified list of the subjects of the Qur'ān)

Stewart p. 173.

33. Nāṣir b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥasani al-Ḥusaynī (Aurangzib's time).

B. *Al-Jadāwīl al-nūriyyah fī istikhṛāj al-āyāt al-qur'āniyyah* (الجداول النورية في استخراج الآيات القرآنية):

India Office 1212.

34. Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh, son of the daughter of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyāl-kūtī (completed the work in 1114/1703).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā tafsīr al-Fātiḥah li-'l-Siyāl-kūtī*

(حاشية على تفسير الفاتحة للسيالكوتي): India Office 1162.

35. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāsim b. Muḥammad Nadhīr al-Quhunduzī (Bahādur Shāh's reign 1119-1124/-1704-1712).

He was a member of the retinue of Bahādur Shāh.

(see India Office 1163).

B. *Majma' al-ta'wīl fī asrār al-tanzīl* (مجمع التاويل في اسرار التanzil)

(في اسرار التanzil): Ibid.

36. Shayḥ Ghulām Naqshband b. 'Aṭā' Allāh Iakhnawī (1126/1714).

He was a pupil of Mīr Muḥd. Shafī' Dihlawī and the teacher of Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh had a high regard for him.

- [1. Ma'āthir 213, 2. Subhah 79, 3. Abjad 906, 4. Ḥadā'iq 435, 5. Tadhkirah 158, 6. Āzād 45.]

(For an other work of his, see section IX.)

B. *Anwār al-Furqān wa azhār al-Qur'ān* (انوار الفرقان و ازهار القرآن): Nadhīr Aḥmad 126.

37. Aḥmad b. Abū Sa'īd, better known as Mullā Jīwan (1130/1717).

He was one of the learned teachers of Awrangzīb who had a high regard for his erudite learning.

- [1. Ma'āthir 216, 2. Abjad 907, 3. Ḥadā'iq 436, 4. Beale 371, 5. Tadhkirah 45, 6. Maḥbūb 827, 7. Ency. Islām (Under Djiwan), 8. Āzād 46, 9. Qāmūs ii 722.]

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

A. *Al-Tafsīrāt al-Aḥmādiyyah fī bayān al-Āyāt al-Shar'iyyah*. (التفسيرات الاحمدية في بيان الآيات الشرعية) MSS. India Office 1160; Bengal A. a. 1; Loth 116; Āṣafiyyah i 532; Rāmpūr 24.

38. Ḥāfiẓ Amān Allāh of Benāres b. Nūr Allāh (1133/1720).

He was an eminent scholar and the author of several books. He was a *qāḍī* at Lucknow during Awrangzīb's time.

- [1. Ma'āthir 212, 2. Subhah 78, 3. Abjad 906, 4. Beale 69, 5. Tadhkirah 27, 6. Azād 44.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI.)

C. *Hāshiyat tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية على تفسير البيضاوي)

39. 'Alī Aṣghar b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad Qannawjī (1140/1727.)

He was one of the eminent scholars of Qannawj. He was born in 1051.

- [1. Ta'rikh-i-Farrukhābād folio 161b, 2. Abjad 930, 3. Ḥadā'iq 438, 4. Tadhkirah 141.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, XI.)

B. *Thawāqib al-tanzīl fī ishārāt al-Ta'wīl* (نواب : التزويل في اشارات التاويل): Rāmpūr 26.

40. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

He was born in 1063 and was one of the well-known scholars of Aḥmadābad. He wrote several works on various topics.

[1. Ma'āthir 219, 2. Subḥah 94, 3. Abjad 911, 4. Ithāf 427, 5. Ḥadā'iq 445, 6. Tadhkirah 247.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VI, IX.)

B. *Al-Tafsīr al-Nūrānī li 'l-Sab' al-mathānī* (التفسير النوراني لل سبع المثاني): Pir Muḥd. Shāh Library.

C. i. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Baqarah*, entitled *al-Tafsīr al-Rabbānī* (التفسير الرباني): Ma'āthir 219.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية تفسير البيضاوي): Ibid.

41. Muḥammad 'Ābid Lāhorī (1160/1747).

[1. Ḥadā'iq 444, 2. Tadhkirah 201.]

(For an other work of his, see section X.)

C. *Hāshiyat Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية تفسير البيضاوي): Tadhkirah 201.

42. Mullā Ḥāmid b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Jawnpūr (1173/1759). Tajalliy-i-nūr 93.

B. *Hāshiyat Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية تفسير البيضاوي): Būhār 8.

43. Muḥd. Hāshim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr al-Tattawī (1174/1760).

He was a pupil of Makhdūm Ḍiyā'u'd-Dīn. Nādir Shāh Durrānī and Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī held him in high esteem.

[1. Maḥbūb 159, 2. Tadhkirah 253.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

B. *Jannatu 'l-Na'im fī faḍl al-Qur'ān* (جنانة : النعيم في فضائل القرآن): Miftāḥ 257.

44. Qutbu'd-Din Aḥmad, called Shāh Walī Allāh, b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For a short account of his life, refer to p. 19 *Supra*.)

[1. His autobiography in *J.A.S.B.* for 1912, pp. 161-75, 2. Abjad 912, 3. Iḥāf 428, 4. Ḥadā'iq 447, 5. His biography, Ḥayāt-Walī by Muḥammad Raḥīm Bakhshī, 6. Brockelmann ii 418, 7. Tadhkirah 250, 8. Ency. Isl. i, 971, 9. Qāmūs ii 299.

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, X, XI).

A. i. *Al fawz al-kabīr fi uṣūl al-tafsīr* (الفوز الكبير في أصول التفسير) MS.: Delhi 279.

ii. *Fath al-khabīr bimā labudd min ḥifẓihī fi 'ilm al-tafsīr* (فتح الخبير بما لابد من حفظه في علم التفسير)

MSS. see Brockelmann ii 418, Āṣafiyyah i 550.

45. Rustam 'Alī b. 'Alī Aṣghar Qannawjī (1178/1764).

He got his education from his father and Mullā Nizāmu 'd-Din Sihālwi.

[1. Ta'rīkh-i-Farrukhābād folio 16b, 2. Tadhkirah 63, 3. Qāmūs i 260.]

(For other work of his, see section III.)

C. *Tafsīr-i-ṣaḡhīr* (تفسير صغير): Tadhkirah.

46. Muḥammad 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-mutakhallīṣ bi Ḥazīn (1183/1769).

He was born in 1104/1692 at Iṣfahān. During the invasion by the Afghans he had to leave for India where he finally settled at Benares. He was a good scholar and a prolific writer. His reputation chiefly lies in his Persian works but he wrote many books in Arabic also.

[1. His autobiography, Tadhkirah-i-Ḥazīn, 2. Nujūm 283, 3. Qāmūs i 200.]

C. i. *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ li ba'd al-suwar wa 'l-āyāt* (كتاب الخواص لبعض السور والآيات)

ii. *Kitāb Shajarāt al-nūr fī sharḥ āyat al-nūr*
(كتاب شجرات النور في شرح آية النور)

iii. *Kitāb tajwīd al-Qur'ān* (كتاب تجويد القرآن)

(N. B.—The Nujūm p. 287 contains a list of about 80 Arabic works quoted from some of his own works.)

47. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd. b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd, 'Abdu 'l-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (1205/1791.)

He was born in 1145 at Bilgrām. Having completed his early education in India, he left for Yaman for higher studies. He studied with the eminent scholars of Zabīd, Ḥijāz and Egypt, and his reputation as a great scholar spread far and wide. He was a prolific writer who wrote many works on various subjects, of which the *Tājū 'l-urūs* (شرح القاموس) and *Ithāf* (شرح احياء العلوم) are most important.

[1. *Ajā'ibu 'l-āḥār* by Jabartī, 2. *Tājū 'l-urūs* vol. i 970, 3. *Ithāf* 407, 4. *Abjad* 708, 5. *Ḥadā'iq* 459, 6. *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyyah* iii 94, 7. Brockelmann ii 287, 8. *Tadhkirah* 224, 9. *Jurjī Zaydān* iii 288, 10. An article by Manāẓir Aḥsan (in the *Ma'ārif* of Aẓamgarh, vol. xix No. 2, 11. *Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl* p. 21 (foot-note).]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, IX.)

C. i. *Tafsīr surah yūnus* (تفسير سورة يونس): *Tadhkirah*.
ii. *Manḥu 'l-fuyūdātī 'l-wāḥiyah fī-mā fī Sūratī 'l-Raḥmān minā 'l-asrārī 'l-Ilāhiyyah*:
(منافع الفيوضات الوافية في ما سورة الرحمن من الاسرار الالهية)

48. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsīt Qannawjī (1223/1808).

He was the son of Mawlawī Rustam 'Alī Qannawjī, already mentioned, (see No. 44).

[1. *Ithāf* 309, 2. *Ḥadā'iq* 464, 3. *Tadhkirah* 107, Beale 3.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, VII, IX.)

C. i. *Tafsīr Dhu 'l-fiqār K'hānī* (تفسير ذو الفقار خاني):
Tadhkirah 107.

ii. *Risālah 'Ajību 'l-bayūn fī 'ulūm tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (رساله عجيب البيان في علوم تفسير القرآن):
Ibid.

49. Ghulām Aḥmad, *Qāḍī* of Seringapatam, and Sayyid 'Alī, *Qāḍī* (jointly compiled in 1223/1808).

(See Storey No. 86.)

B. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* (جواهر القرآن) an index to the verses of the *Qur'ān*: Ethe 2709; Ivanow 979, 980.

50. *Qāḍī* Thanā' Allāh of Pānīpat (1225/1810).

For a short note of his life refer to p. 17 *Supra*.

[1. Ithāf 240, 2. Ḥadā'iq 465, 3, Beale 351, 4. Tadhkirah 38, 5. Qāmūs i 164.]

(For an other work of his, see section V.)

A. *Tafsīr i-Maẓharī* (تفسير مظاري)

MS. Rāmpūr p. 26 (only a portion).

51. Salām Allāh Rāmpūrī b. *Shaykh* al-Islām (1229-1813).

He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* at Rāmpūr and a descendant of *Shaykh* 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi.

[1. Abjad 927, 2. Tadhkirah 76.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV.)

A. *Al-Kamālayn ḥūshiyat al-Jalālayn* (الحاشية على الجمالين)

MS.: Delhi 31.

52. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. *Shāh* Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1828).

He was born in 1151 at Delhi. He completed his education under his learned father. He was a great scholar and a prolific writer who wrote on various topics both in Arabic and Persian.

[1. *Āḥārū 'l-Ṣanādīd* (by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān iv 69, 2. *Ithāf* 296, 3. *Abjad* 914, 4. *Ḥadā'iq* 470, 5. *Kamālāt-i-'Azīzī*, a biography by Nawwāb Mubārak 'Alī Khān, 6. *Tadhkirah* 122.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI.)

B. *Muqadḍimah Taḥsīn Fath al-'Azīz* (مقدمه تفسیر فتح العزیز) : Rāmpūr 43.

53. Muḥammad Ashraf b. Qāḍī Nīmat Allāh Lakhnawī (1244/1829).

His ancestors had emigrated from Lahore to Lucknow. He was the author of some works.

[*Tadhkirah* 180.]

C. *A Commentary on the Qur'ān* (تفسیر القرآن) : Ibid.

54. Shāh Muḥammad Rafī' al-Dīn (1249/1833). He was the second son of Shāh Walī Allāh.

[1. *Abjad* 914, 2. *Ḥadā'iq* 469, 3. *Tadhkirah* 66, 4. *Mahbūb* 320.]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, X, XI.)

B. *Taḥsīn āyat al-Nūr* (تفسیر آیه النور) (xxiv 35): India Office 1169.

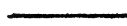
55. Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrābādī (1271/1854).

He was a Shī'ah scholar.

[*Kashfu 'l-ḥujub* p. 5 preface.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

C. *Risālah fi Taḥqīq ma'nā In shā' Allāh* (رساله فی تحقیق معنی انشاء الله) : Ibid.



SECTION II

ḤADĪTH LITERATURE

1. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī (650/1252).

His ancestors belonged to Ṣaghān, (also called Ṣāghān), a town in Transoxania. His father emigrated to Lahore where he was born in 577. Having completed his education under his father who was an eminent theologian and great scholar, he left for Baghdād in 615 and then he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 617 the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) sent him as an ambassador to the court of Iltutmish, the Slave King of Delhi. He returned to Baghdād in 624. He was sent back again in the same capacity to the court of Delhi where he stayed upto 637. Then he left for Baghdād where he died in 650. He was both a philologist and traditionist of repute. He was the author of many works.

[1. Yāqūtī's Mu‘jam al-udabā’ vol. iii 211, 2. Ibn Shākir's Fawāt al-wafayāt i 133, 3. Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā's Jawāhiru 'l-Muḍī'ah i 201, 4. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's Taj al-trājim 17, 5. Suyūṭī's Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt 227, 6. Ṭāsh oprizādah's Miftāḥ al-Sa'adat ii 98, 7. Ma'āthir 180, 8. Subḥah 28, 9. Ithāf 248, 10. Abjad 890, 11. Ḥadā'iq 253, 12. Wüstenfeld 336, 13. Brockelmann i 360, 14. Fawā'id 48, 15. Jurji Zaydān iii 49, 16. Khayru 'd-Dīn's A'lām i 239, 17. Āzād 7.]

(For other works of his, see sections IX, XI.)

A. *Al-Mashḥarīq al-anwār al-nabawiyyah min Ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār al-muṣṭafawiyyah*, (المنار النبوية من صحاح الأخبار المصطفوية)
MSS.: Berlin 1322; Paris 737; Bri. Mus. p. 713 a; Rieu 145; Algiers 476; Yeni 280-4; Cairo i 308; Upsal 394; Rāmpūr 113; Bānkipūr 365; Āsafīyyah, 673; Delhi 307; Salim Āghā 234; Kamānkash 57;

Koprili 432; Nūr 'Uḥmānī 1232; Sulaymāniyyah 324; Jāmī' Sharifī 180; Maḥmūd ii 165; Ḥusayn Pāshā 77; 'Ātif 619; Mihr Shāh 88; Ughli 177; Yahyā 80; Fātiḥ 1153; Lālah ii 653; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 900; Asad Efendi 14; 'Aligarh 97; Nadwah (N) iii.

- B. i. *Risālah fī al-Aḥādith al-mawḥi'ah* (الرسالة في الأحاديث الموحية) : Cairo vii 123; Berlin 1630; Sulaymāniyyah 1038; Dāmād Ibrāhīm 336; Khusraw 4; Rāmpūr 120.
- ii. *Darr al-ṣaḥābah fī bayān mawāḍi' wa faṣayāt al-ṣaḥābah* (در الصحابة في بيان مواضع وفضائل الصحابة) : Cairo v 52; Berlin 9652.
- iii. *Kitāb fī asmā' shuyūkh al-Bukhārī* (كتاب في أسماء شيوخ البخاري) : Constantinople, Bashīr Āghā 68.
- C. i. *Miṣbāḥ al-dujā min ṣiḥāḥ aḥādith al-Muṣṭafā* (ميسبأح الدجى من صحاح احديث المصطفى) : Ithāf 243.
- ii. *Al-Shams al-Munīrah* (الشمس المنيرة) : Ibid.
- iii. *Zubdat al-Manāsik* (زبدة المناسك) : Ibid.
- iv. *Kitāb darajāt al-'Ilm wa 'l-'Ulamā'* (كتاب درجات العلم و العلماء) : Ibid.
- v. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (شرح صحيح البخاري) : Ibid. p. 55.

2. Abū Ḥa'ṣ Ṣirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Hindī al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī (773/1371).

He was born in 704. Having completed his education under the eminent scholars of Delhi such as Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī, Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khaṭīb and Sirāju 'al-Dīn 'Thaqafī Dihlawī, he left for Mecca and Madinah from where he went to Cairo where he was appointed *Qāḍī 'l-Quḍāt* as his reputation as a theologian of the *Ḥanafī* school had spread far and wide. He was the author of many works.

[1. *Al-Duraru 'l-kāminah*: under “‘Umar b. Ishāq” and *ospe* under ‘Hindī’, 2. *Suyūṭī’s Husnu 'l-muḥāḍrah* i 268, 3. *Ḥadā'iq* 290, 4. *Beale* 19, 5. *Tadhkirah* 151, 6. *Brockelmann* ii 220, 7. *Fawā'id* 60, 8. *Ṭaraba 'l-amāḥil* 259, 9. *Nuzhat* 95.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV, V, IX.)

- B. i. *Sharḥ al-arba'in* (شرح الأربعين): *Bengal* ii 514.
 ii. *Tawḍīḥ Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī* (توضيح شرح صحيح البخاري): *Āṣafiyyah* iv 248.

3. *Amīr Kabir Sayyid 'Alī b. Shihābu'd-Dīn al-Hamadhānī* (786/1384).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

- B. i. *Al-Sab'īn fī Faḍā'il Amīri 'l-mu'minīn* (السبعون في فضائل أمير المؤمنين): *British Mus.* 890 ii.
 ii. *Arba'in amrīyyah* (الأربعين امرية): *Ibid* 890 iii.
 iii. *Mawaddatu 'l-qurbā* (موددة القربى): *Āṣafiyyah* iii 268.

4. *Badru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bīkr*, called *Ibn al-Damāmīnī* (827-1424).

He was a native of Egypt, but during the latter part of his life, he came to India, where he composed some works which he dedicated either to the great *Aḥmad Shāh* of *Gujarāt* (814/1411-846/1443) or to *Aḥmad Shāh I* of the *Bāḥmanī House* (825/1421-838/1435). He had also written several works before he came to India; but in the present list only those works of his are included which he composed while he was in India.

[1. *Suyūṭī's Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt* folio 156, 2 *His Husnu 'l-muḥāḍrah* i 311, 3. *Khalifah* vi 419, 4. *Loth* 964, 5. *Brockelmann* ii 26, 6. *Nuḥāt* 118.]

(For other works of his, see section IX.)

- C. *Maṣābiḥu 'l-Jāmi' fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi 'l-Bukhārī* (مصابيح الجامع في شرح صحيح البخاري): *Ithāf* 53.

5. *Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī Zayd-pūri* (968/1560).

His ancestors belonged to Zaydpūr, a village near Jawnpūr, but later on they emigrated to the Deccan where he was born and completed his education. About the end of his life he went to Delhi on the invitation of Muḥammad Bayrām Khān Khān-i-Khanān.

[1. Akhbār 245, 2. Ṭabaqāt 182b, 3. Ḥadā'iq 375, 4. Tajallī ii 43, 5. Tadhkirah 106.]

(For other works of his, see section III.)

C. *Fayḍu 'l-bārī fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi 'l-Bukhārī*
(فيض الباری فی شرح صحیح البخاری): Ithāf 56.

6. 'Alī Muttāqī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn of Burhānpūr (975/1557).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, XI.)

A. i. *Kanzu 'l-ummāl* (کنز العمال) MSS.: Bānkīpūr 427, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1199-1203, Āṣafīyyah i 660. MSS. of parts:

a. *Manhajū 'l-ummāl* (منهج العمال): Bānkīpūr 425, Āṭif 636, Āshir 270, Walī al-Dīn 856, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1275, 'Aligarh 102, Āṣafīyyah i 678.

b. *Al-Ikmāl li manhajī 'l-ummāl* (الاکمال لمنهج العمال): Koprili 249, Nūr 'Uthmānī 674, Dāmād zādah 341. Āyā Şūfiyah 458.

ii. *Muntakhab kanz al-ummāl* (منتخب کنز العمال): (printed at Cairo on the margin of the Musnad of Imām Ḥanbal).

MSS. Bānkīpūr 428, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1272.

B. i. *Al-Fuṣūl sharḥ jāmī' al-uṣūl* (الفصول شرح جامع الأصول): Bānkīpūr 225.

ii. *Shamā'ilu 'l-nabī* (شمائل النبی): Peshāwar 439, 'Aligarh 99.

iii. *Al-Burhān fi 'alāmāt Mahdī ākhiri'z zamān* (البرهان فی علامات مهدی آخر الزمان): Delhi 121, Loth 1031 ii, Berlin 2726-30, Alger 857, Āṣafīyyah iii 260, iv 238.

7. Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir of Pattan (986/1578).

He was born at Nahrwāla in Gujarāt in 914. After completing his education, he went to the Hijāz where he attended the lectures of the eminent scholars of that country and became a disciple of 'Alī Muttaqī. Then he returned to his native country where he took up the cause of spreading the *sunnah* among, and removing *bid'ah* (innovation) from, his own people so much so that he was at last killed by a follower of the *Ismā'īliyyah* sect.

[1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir, under the year 986, 2. Akhbār 272, 3. Ma'āhir 249, 4. Subḥah 43, 5. Iḥāf 397, 6. Abjad 895, 7. Hada'iq 265, 8. Broekelmann ii 416, 9. Tadḥkirat 196, 10. Al-fawā' id al-baḥiyyah 67, (on margin), 11. Maḥbūb 385]

A. i. *Maḥma' biḥār al-anwār fī ghārā'ib al-tanzil wa laṭā'if al-akhbār* (مجموع بحار الأنوار في غرائب التنزيل و لطائف الأخبار):

MSS: Bānkipūr 001-2, 1688-9; Loth 1023, Nadwah (N) 135, Calcutta lxxx.

ii. *Tadḥkirat al-mawqū'āt* (تذكرة الموضوعات)

MSS. Bengal A. b. 18; Āṣafiyyah i 616, Būhār 47; Delhi 161; Bānkipūr 315.

iii. *Al-Mughnī fī ḡabḥ asmā' al-rijāl* (المغني في غيب أسماء الرجال):

MSS. Bānkipūr 731; Āṣafiyyah i 788, iii 350; Būhār 242.

iv. *Qānūn al-mawqū'āt fī dhikr al-du'afā' wa 'l-waḍḍa'in* (قانون الموضوعات في ذكر الضعفاء و الرضعين)

B. i. *Asmā' al-rijāl* (أسماء الرجال): Bānkipūr xii 730; Rāmpūr 134.

ii. *Risālah fī lughāt al-Mishkāt* (رساله في لغات المسكات): Bengal C. 7.

8. Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ma'barī (after 991/-1583).

Of him very little is known except that he belonged to a learned family of Mālābār, that he was in the service of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr and that he was the author of some works, the most important of which is the *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*.

[1. Akhbār al-akh'yār 268 (about his father) and also al-Sanā' at bākūr, folio 232 (about his father). 2. Brockelmann ii 416, 3. Jurjī Zaydān iii 314, 4. David Lope's Introduction to his translation of the *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, VIII.)

A. *Kitāb mutaḥammin al-aḥādith wa 'l-āthār al-muta'alliqah bi al-marī wa ma ba'duh* (كتاب متضمن للحديث والآثار المتعلقة بالموت وما بعده).

9. Waḡh al-Dīn Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VII, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ sharḥ nukḥbat al-fikar* (شرح شرح نخبة الفكر): Rāmpūr 127.

10. Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Muftī (compiled in 1015/1606).

See Fānkipūr 285.

B. *Sharḥ arba 'īn al-naṣawī* (شرح أربعين النووي): Ibid.

11. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Shustarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Sharḥ muqaddimat al-maṣābiḥ fī al-aḥādith* (شرح مقدمة المصابيح في الأحاديث): Kashf al-ḥujub.

ii. *Hāshiyat tahdhīb al-aḥkām fī al-aḥādith* (حاشية تهذيب الأحكام في الأحاديث): Ibid.

12. 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Arīf 'Uthmānī, called 'Abd al-Nabī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sharḥ nakhbat al-fikar* (شرح نخبة الفكر) : Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Sharḥ al-Mishkāt* (شرح المشكاة) : Ibid.

iii. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth "kuntu kanzā"* (شرح حديث كنت كنزا) : Ibid.

iv. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth "al-Ṣalāt mi'raḥ al-mu'minīn"* (شرح حديث الصلاة معراج المؤمنين) : Ibid.

13. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Shadqan al-Ḥusaynī al-Madani (1046/1636).

Originally a resident of Madinah, he lived at Ahamadnagar and in Mālābār.

[1. Sulāfat al-aṣr 249, 2. Muḥibbī ii 23, 3. Brockelmann ii 416, 4. Nujūm 41, 5. Jurjī Zaydān iii 315.]

(For an other work of his, see section VIII.)

C. *Al-Jawāhir al-niẓāmiyyah min ḥadīth khayr al-bariyyah* (الجواهر النظمية من حديث خير البرية)
Nujūm 41.

14. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī Muḥaddīdh of Delhi (1052/-1642.)

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, VIII.)

A. i. *Muqaddimat al-mishkāt* (مقدمة المشكاة)

ii. *Māṭḥabat bi 'l-sunnah fī ayyam al-sanah* (ماتحت بالسنه في ايام السنه)

MSS.: Rāmpūr 197; Delhi 275; Bānkīpūr 404.

B. i. *Lam'ūt al tanqīḥ 'alā Mishkāt al-maṣūbīh* (لمعات التنقيح على مشكاة المصابيح) : Bānkīpūr 361, Rāmpūr 107; Delhi 171; Bengal A. b. 57; Āṣafiyyah 664.

ii. *Al-Ikmāl fī asmā' al-riḡāl* (الكمال في اسماء الرجال) : Delhi 105; Bānkīpūr 732.

iii. *Tahqīq al-ishūrah fī ta'mīm al-bishūrah* (تحقيق الاشارة في تميم البشارة) : Delhi 126.

15. Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (1073/1662).
(For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ shamā'il Tirmidhī* (شرح شمائل ترمذی):
Rāmpūr 90.

16. 'Abdu 'ṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm (d. about the
end of 11th century A. H.)

He was a pupil of Wajihu 'd-Dīn of Gujaraṭ.

B. *Al-Fawā'id al-shamsiyyah fi 'l-aḥādīthi 'l-nabawiyyah* (الفوائد الشمسية في الأحاديث النبوية):
Āṣafiyyah, iv 254.

17. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbūh (11th century A.H.).
(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI, IX.)

B. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رساله في أصول الحديث):
Bānkīpūr 1779, ix.

18. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu 'l-Majd Maḥbūb 'Ālam
Ja'far Aḥmadābādī (1111/1699).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Zīnatu 'l-nikāt fī sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ* (زينت النكات في شرح المشكاة):
Tadhkirah 214.

19. Mullā Taqī b. Shāh Muḥammad Lāhūrī (dedi-
cated his work to Farrukh Siyar: 1124-31/1713-1719).

See Bānkīpūr 457.

B. *Zubdat al-anzār, sharḥ nuzhat al-nazar fī
tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikar* (بدء الانظار شرح نزهة النظر
في توضيح نخبة الفكر): Ibid.

20. Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī al-Sindī (1138/
1725).

He was a teacher of Muḥammad Ḥayāt, an eminent
muhaddith of Sind and a teacher of Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.
He lived at Madīnah for a long time, where he earned a
name for his piety and learning.

[Muradī iv 66]

(For another work of his, see section III.)

A. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Bukhārī* (حاشية علي البخاري):
MS. Cairo i 331.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sunan al-Nisā'i* (حاشية علي بن النسائي) :

See Mu'jam al-maṭbu'āt 1057.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sunan ibn Mājah* (حاشية علي بن ماجه) Ibid.

MS. Cairo i 331.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Muslim* (حاشية علي صحيح المسلم) Cairo i 331.

ii. *Faṭḥ al-wadūd, sharḥ Sunan Abi Dā'ūd* (فتح الودود شرح سنن أبي داود) : Ibid.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Musnad Imām Aḥmad* (حاشية علي مسند امام احمد)

See Murādi iv 66.

21. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1115/1742).

(For other works of his, see section I, III, IV, V, VI, IX.)

C. . *Nūr al-Qārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (نور القاري شرح صحيح البخاري) Ithāf 56.

22. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī 1163/1749).

He was a native of Sind and a member of the Chā-char tribe. While young, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah and settled at the latter. He completed his education under the scholars of the Ḥijāz, especially under *Shaykh* Abu 'I-Ḥasan Sindī. His reputation as an erudite scholar soon spread far and wide. *Ghulām* 'Alī Āzād met him and attended his lectures when the former went to Madīnah.

[1. Ma'āthir 164, 2. Subḥah 95, 3. Murādi iv 34, 4. Ithāf 403, 5. Abjad 849. 6. Bānkīpūr Cat. No. 286]
(For other works of his, see section V).

B. *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn fī sharḥ al-Arba'in li'n-Nawawī* (تحفة المحبين في شرح الأربعين للنووي):
Bānkīpūr 286.

23. *Shāh Walī Allāh* of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IV, V, X, XI.)

A. i. *Hujjat Allāh al-bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة) :

MSS. Berlin 1381 ; Cairo i.

ii. *Al-Irshād ilā muhimmat 'ilm al-isnād* (الإرشاد إلى مهمات علم الإسناد)

iii. *Al-Arba'īn* (الأربعين) : MS. Rampur 62.

iv. *Al-Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-nabiyy al-amīn* (الدر الثمين في مبشرات النبي الأمين) : MS. Delhi 277 iii.

v. *Sharḥ trājim abwāb al-Bukhārī* (شرح تراجم أبواب البخاري) : MSS. Bānkīpūr 178 ; Rāmpur 10.

vi. *Ta'wīl al-aḥādīth* (تأويل الأحاديث)

vii. *Al-Musawwā sharḥ al-Muwattā* (المسوى شرح الموطأ) : MSS. Bānkīpūr 125 and 126, Peshawar 301, Delhi 64, Rāmpur 113 ; Āṣafiyyah i 672, Nadwah (N) 50.

B. i. *Al-Nawādir* (النداء) : Delhi 277/c. .

ii. *Al-Faḥlu 'l-mubīn fī 'l-musalsal min ḥadīthi 'n-nabiyyi 'l-amīn* (النفل المبين في المسلسل من حديث النبي الأمين) : Delhi 20, Bānkīpūr, 134.

24. *Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz b. Shaykh Walī Gujratī* (12th century A.H.).

B. *Dharī'atu 'l-qabūl ilā ḥaḍrati 'r-Rasūl* (ذريعة القبول إلى حضرة الرسول) : Āṣafiyyah iv 244.

25. *Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mu'tamad Khān Rustam* (12th century).

B. *Nuzul al-abrār* (نزل الأبرار) : Delhi 1356.

26. *Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām* (1200/1785).

He was born in 1116/1703-4) at Bilgrām. He received his early education from Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭufayl and then from his maternal grand-father S. 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl. In 1151 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah where he completed his studies of *Hadīth* under Muḥammad Ḥayat Sīndī and *Shaykh*

'Abdu 'l-Wahbāb Ṭanṭāwī. On his return to India, he settled at Awrangābād and lived in the Deccan for about 48 years. Niẓāmu 'd-Dawlah Nāṣir Jang had a high regard for him. He was an erudite scholar and a good poet who used to compose verses in both Persian and Arabic. His Arabic *Qaṣā'id* in the praise of the Prophet have won him the title of *Hassānu 'l-Hind*. He is the author of several works in both the languages.

[1. Autobiography in the Ma'āthir, 161=164, 303=311, 2. Autobiography in the Subḥah 113, 3. Ithāf 530, 4. Abjad 920, 5. Ḥadā'iq 454, 6. Beale 86, 7. Rieu Pers., 8. Tadhkirah 154, 9. Maḥbūb 857. 10. Āzād 66, 11. Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl ii 163—178, 12. Qamūs i 3, 13, Qamūs u 'a'lam 32].

[For other works of his, see sections VIII, XI)

A. *Shanmāmātu 'l-'ambar fī ma warada fī 'l-Hind min Sayyidi 'l-bashar* (شامة العنبر في ما ورد في الهند من سيد البشر : (included in his Subḥatu'l-marjān) MS. Āṣafiyyah iii 258.

B. *Daw'u 'd darārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi l'-Bukhārī* (فؤاد الدراوي شرح صحيح البخاري) : Nadwah (N) 99

27. Muḥd. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Sindī b. 'Abdu 'l-Qādir (tenth century A. H).*

He was one of the eminent traditionists the country of Sind produced in the tenth century.

[Nuzhat MS.]

A. *Sharḥ Tirmidhī* (شرح ترمذی) : In Bri. Mus.

28. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abdu' r-Razzāq known as Murtadā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IV, V, IX).

B. i. *Risālah fī Aḥādīth yawm al-'āshūrah* (رساله في احاديث يوم عاشوراء) : Cairo vii 209.

* This author by an oversight has been mentioned here his real position being after No. 9.

- ii. *Al-Amālī al-Shaykhāniyyah* (الامالي الشيخونية) Berlin 10255.
 - iii. *Majma'u 'l-mashā'ikh* (مجمع المشائخ) : 'Ārif.
 - C. i. *Al-Azhāru 'l-mutanāthirah fī 'l-aḥādīthi 'l-mutawātirah* (الازهار المتناثرة في الاحاديث المتواترة) : Abjad 714.
 - ii. *Darru 'd-dar' fī ḥadīth Umm Zar'* (در الضرع في حديث ام زرع) : Ibid.
 - iii. *Takhrīj ḥadīth Shayyabatnī sūrat Hūd* (تخریج حديث شيبثني سورة هود) : Ibid.
 - iv. *Al-Mawāhibu 'l-jaliyyah fīmā yata'alluqu bi-ḥadīthi 'l-awwaliyyah* (المواهب الجليه فيما يتعلق بحديث الاوليه) : Ibid.
 - v. *Al-Mirqāṭi 'l-'aliyyah fī sharḥ al-ḥadīthi 'l-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* (المرقاة العلية في شرح الحديث المسلسل بالاوليه) : Ibid.
 - vi. *Takhrīj ḥadīth nām al-idām al-khall* (تخریج حديث نعم الادم الخل) : Ibid.
 - vii. *Al-'Arūs 'l-majliyyah fī ṭuruq ḥadīthi 'l-awwaliyyah* (العروس المجليه في طرق حديث الاوليه) : Ibid.
 - viii. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رساله في اصول الحديث) : Ibid.
 - ix. *Al-Qawlu 's-ṣaḥīḥ fī marātibī 't-ta'dīl wa 'l-tajrīḥ* (القول الصحيح في مراتب التعديل والتجريح) : Ibid.
 - x. *Al-Takbīr fī 'l-ḥadīthi 'l-musalsal bi 't-takbīr* (التكبير في الحديث المسلسل بالتكبير) : Ibid.
29. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ Qannawjī (1225/1810).
(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IX).
- C. i. *Aba'īn* (اربعين) : Ithāf 10.
 - ii. *Sharḥ Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (شرح دلائل الخيرات) : Ibid.
30. 'Alimu 'd-Dīn b. Faṣṭiḥu 'd-Dīn Qannawjī.
He was a pupil of the above mentioned 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ Qannawjī.

[1. Abjad 932, 2. Ḥadā'iq 468, 3. Tadhkirah 148].

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Duraru 'l-fadā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il*. (درر الفضائل)

: Abjad 932.

31. Salām Allāh *Muḥaddith* b. *Shaykhu* l-Islām
12-29/1813).

(For other works of his, see sections I. IV.)

B. *Al-Muḥallā, sharḥ al-Muwattā* (المطلى شرح الموطأ):

Bankipūr 127, Delhi 180, Āṣafīyyah iv 260.

C. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في أصول الحديث)

Tadhkirah 77.

32. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'ulūm of Lucknō (1235/-
1819).

He was the son of the celebrated Mullā Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī. He was an erudite scholar and voluminous writer. For some time he was in the service of Ḥaṭīz Raḥmat Khān at Shāhjahānpūr. On his death, he was invited by Nawwāb Fayḍ Allāh Khān, the ruler of Rāmpur, who had a high regard for his learning and piety. Then he went to Bihar from where he was finally invited by Nawwāb Muḥd. 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Karnatak, who received him with great respect and built a large college for him where he continued to lecture until his death.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 467, 2. Tadhkirah 123, 3. Beale 2, 4. 'Abdu 'l-Barr's Āthāru 'l-uwal 24, 5. Encyclo. I lāmi 584, 6. J.B.S.B. (new series ii 694), 7. Franqi, 8. Buhār No. 142, 9. Qamus ii 65.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV, V, VI, VII.)

B. *Risālah fī Taqṣīmi 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في تقسيم الحديث): Rāmpur 126.

33. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh (1239/-
1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, X, XI).

A. *Risālah fī mā yajib ḥifẓuhū li 'l-nāzir* (رساله في ما يجب حفظه للنظر).

B. i. 'Azīzu 'l-iqtibās (عزيز الاقتباس) : Rāmpūr 95 ;
Āṣafiyyah i 646.

ii. *Al-Aḥādīth al-mawḍū'ah* (الحاديث الموضوعة) :
Nadwah 250.

34. Qāḍī Muḥd. Ismā'il b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī of Delhi (1246/1830).

He was the grandson of the celebrated Shāh Wali Allāh and was well known for his piety and religious zeal. He joined Mawlawī Sayyid Aḥmad's holy war expedition against the Sikhs in the Punjab, and was killed near Bālā-Kot.

[1. Ithāf 416, 2. Abjad 916, 3. Tadhkirah 179].

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, X).

A. *Tanwīru 'l-'aynayn fī iḥbāt raf'ī 'l-yadayn* (تلوير العينين في اثبات رفع اليدين) : Bri. Mus.

B. *Raddu 'l-ishrāk* (رد الاشراك) : Āṣafiyyah i 666.

35. Irtidā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafa 'Alī Khān of Gopāma'n (1251/-1835).

He was born in 1198/1783. He was a pupil of Maulawī Hayder 'Alī of Sandīla. His father was a *qāḍī* in Madras whom he succeeded in that position on his death.

[1. Tadhkirah 21, 2. Mu'jam al-maṭbu'āt 421].

(For other work of his, see sections III, VI, IX).

B. *Mudāriju 'l-isnād* (مدارج الاسناد) : Āṣaffiyyah 666.

36. Sayyid Abū Aḥmad Awlād Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Luṭf Allāh Qannawjī (1253/1837).

He was the father of the celebrated Nawwab Siddiq Ḥasan of Bhopal.

[1. Ithāf 235, 2. Abjad 935].

C. *Arba'in* (اربعين) : Ithāf 235.

37. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Ya'qub 'Alī al-Sindī (1257/1841).

He was a resident of Sind and was born in Sind but he completed his education at Zabīd. Then he went to Ṣan'ā' where he married the daughter of the minister. The *Imām* of Ṣan'ā' sent him as an ambassador to Egypt. Afterwards he returned to his native place in Sind where he stayed for some time and then he went to Madīnah where he was appointed as the head of the theologians. He died at Madīnah.

[1. Abjad 850, 2. Tadhkirah 202, 3. Bānkīpur 240.]

(For another's work of his, see section III).

A. i. *Al-Mawāhib al-Latīfah 'alā Musnad Abi Hanīfah* (المواهب اللطيفة على مسند علي أبي حنيفة) : MSS. Bānkīpur 240 ; Delhi 301 ; Āṣafiyyah. i 638, ii 262.

ii. *Tartīb Musnad Imām Abi Hanīfah* (ترتيب مسند إمام أبي حنيفة) : Bri. Mus.

B. *Ḥaṣru 'l-shārid* (حصر الشارد) : Āṣafiyyah iii 254.

C. i. *Taysīru 'l-wuṣūl ilā aḥādithi 'r-rasūl* (تيسير الوصول إلى أحاديث الرسول) : Abjad 850.

ii. *Sharḥ Bulūgh al-marām* (شرح بلوغ المرام لابن حجر)

38. Abū Su'aymān Muḥammad Ishāq (1262/1845).

He was the son of *Shāh Walī Allāh's* daughter and a pupil of his maternal grandfather.

[Tadhkirah 178.]

C. *Al-Arba'in fī faḍā'ilī 'l-ḥajj wa 'l-'umrah* (الأربعين في فضائل الحج والعمرة) : Iṭḥaf 11.

39. Shaykh Mubārak b. Arzānī al-Ruhtakī al-Banārsī (13th century).

See Bānkīpur 364.

B. *Madāriju 'l-akhbār* (مدارج الأخبار) : Ibid.

40. Walī Allāh b. Ghulām Muḥd. Saratī (13th Century).

See Bānkīpur 406.

B. *Al-Tanbīhāt* (التنبيهات) :

Ibid.

WORKS OF UN-KNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. 'Umar b. 'Ārif al-Nahr wālī.

Sec. Loth 131.

- B. *Al-Fayḍu 'l-Nabawī fi usūli 'l-ḥadīth wa fahārisi 'l-Bukhārī* (الفيض النبوي في أصول الحديث) (وفهارس البخاري) : Ibid.

2. Shāh Muḥd. Ghawṭh of Peshāwar.

- B. *Risālah fi usūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رساله في أصول الحديث) : Peshāwar 439.

3. Wajīh Allāh b. Muḥib Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindī.

- B. *Sharḥ al-Arbā'in li 'n-Nawawī* (شرح الأربعين) (النورى) : Āṣafiyyah 1634.

4. Shaykh Faqīr Allāh b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Shikārpur.

- B. *Wathīqatu 'l-akābir* (وثيقة الاكبر) : Peshāwar 375.

5. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī.

- A. *Nuzul man ittīqā bi Kashfi 'l-aḥwālī 'l-muntaqā* (نزل من اتقي بكشف الاحوال المنتقى) : Rāmpur p. 139.

SECTION III

FIQH LITERATURE.

1. Muḥammad b Ismā'il al-Khaṭīb Nazīl Delhi (composed in 640/1142).

Nothing of him could be known.

B. *Siwānu 'l-qāḍi'* (صان القضاء): Āṣafiyyah ii 1050.

2. Shaykh Ṣafiyy al-Dīn Muḥd. b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm al-Hindī (715/1315).

He was born in India in 644. He went to Yaman from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Then he visited Cairo, Constantinople and Damascus where he settled and died.

[1. Al-Duraru 'l-Kāminah, under the name 'Ṣafiyy,' 2. Abjad 806.]

(For another work of his, see section V.)

C. i. *Nihāyatū 'l-wuṣūl ilā 'ilmī 'l-uṣūl* (نهایت الوصول إلى علم الأصول) : Khaliḥah under the very title and Abjad 806.

ii. *Al-Fā'iḳ fī uṣūli 'dīn* (الفائق في أصول الدين) : Ibid.

3. Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn 'Imrānī Dihlawī (during the reign of Muḥd Tughlaq—725-752/1324-1351).

He was one of the eminent theologians attached to the court of Muḥammad Tughlaq. He was sent by the Sultān to Shīrāz to fetch Qādī 'Aḍud 'd-Dīn, the celebrated theologian of Shīrāz to Delhi, but the ruler of the country did not suffer the Qādī to leave Shīrāz for India.

[1. Akhbār 142, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq (Elliot vi 486), 3. Subḥah 37, 4. Ma'aṭhir 184, 5. Abjad 892, 6. Ḥada'iq 304, 7. Taḍkirah 282, 8. Nuzhat 165.]

(For other works of his see section IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Talwih* (حاشية علي التلويح) : Nadwah 721.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Husāmī* (حاشية علي الحسامي): Ma'athir 184.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Kanzu 'd-daqa'iq* (حاشية علي كنز الدقائق) : Ibid

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Manār* (حاشية علي المنار): Akhbār 142.

4. Abu Bakr Ishāq b. Taj al-Dīn Abu al-Ḥasan, called Ibn al-Taj (after 736/1335).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. i. *Kitabu 'l-ḥajj wa 'l-manāsik* (كتاب الحج والمناسك) : Berlin 4064.

ii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-aḥkām bi sharā'iṭi 'l-imān wa 'l-islām* (خلاصة الأحكام بشرائط الإيمان و الإسلام) : Berlin 1798-9.

5. Qādī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī (764/1362).

He was an eminent scholar of his time. His *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* has been mentioned by Ḥājji Khālīfah.

[1. Khālīfah vi 492, 2. Ma'athir 182, 3. Shubḥah 29, 4. Abjad 891, 5. Ḥadā'iq 291, 6. Tadḥkiraḥ 53.]

C. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* (شرح الهداية) : Ibid.

6. Ḥusamu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī (during the reign of 'Ala'u 'd-Dīn *Khilji*—695-715/1295-1315*).

He was a scholar well-versed in *fiqh*, *uṣūlu'l-fiqh* and Arabic literature.

[Nuzhat 37]

B. *Al-Bihāru 'dh-dhākhirah* (البحار الذخيرة): Āṣafiyah ii 1072.

7. Abu Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

*But according to the date given in 'Asafiyd ii 1072, he died in 770/1368,

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, IX.)

B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Mughnī* (شرح المغني) : Berlin 4384, Āṭif 703, Lalah-i 743, Qiliḥ 'Alī 306, (see Brockelmann ii 220.)

ii. *Fatāwā qārī al-Hidāy al* (فتاوى قارى الهداية) : Rāmpur 227.

iii. *Zubdatu 'l-aḥkām fī ikhtilāfi 'l-a'immati 'l-a'lām* (زبدة الاحكام في اختلاف ائمة الاعلام) : Berlin 4862; Delhi 1951.

iv. *Al-Ghurraṭu 'l-munīfah fī tarjīḥ madhhab Abī Ḥanīfah* (الغرة المنيفة في ترجيح مذهب) : Āṣafiyyah ii 1096.

v. *Al-Fatāwā al-Sirājiyyah* (الفتاوى السراجية) : Miṭṭah 990.

C. i. *Al-Tawshīḥ, Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyat al-Kabīr* (التوشيح شرح الهداية الكبير) : Khāṭifah vi 485.

ii. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyat al-Saghīr* (شرح الهداية الصغير) : Ibid

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Jāmi'i 'l-saghīr* (شرح الجامع الصغير) : Tadhkirah 151.

iv. *Sharḥu 'l-Jāmi'i 'l-kabīr* (شرح الجامع الكبير) : Ibid.

v. *Sharḥu 'l-Manār* (شرح المنار) : Ibid.

vi. *Sharḥu 'l-Mukhtār* (شرح المختار) : Ibid.

vii. *Sharḥu 'z-zīyādāt* (شرح الزیادات) : Ibid.

viii. *'Uddatu 'l-nāsik fī 'l-manāsik* (عدة الناسك في المناسك) : Ibid.

ix. *Kāshif Mā'ānī al-Badī' fī 'l-uṣūl* (كاشف معاني) : Khāṭifah under *Al-Badī'*.

8. Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Jamal al-Ḥusaynī of Multān (790/1388)

One of his ancestors migrated from Mashhad to Multan, which our author left for Delhi during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, who being impressed with his learning, appointed him a teacher at the royal school.

[Tadhkirah 256]

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Tawjīhu 'l-kalām fi Sharḥi 'l-Manār* (ترجيح الكلام في شرح المنار) : Ibid.

9. 'Ālim b. 'Alā'u 'l-Hanafī Andapathī (in the time of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq—752-790/1351-1388).

He was one of the eminent theologians and scholars of Firūz Shāh's time. He wrote a voluminous and comprehensive work on jurisprudence in which he quoted about thirty authorities. He dedicated it to the *Khān-i-āzam* Tātār-Khān.

[1. 'Abdu 'l-Haqq Haqqī (Elliot vi 1487), 2. Muḥd 'Abdu 'l-Awwāl's Mufidu 'l-muftī 102, 3. Nuzhat 67.]

B. *Al-Fatāwā al-Tātār Khāniyyah** (الفتاوى التاتارية) : Cairo iii 87; Peshāwar 626; Rampar No. 361; Āṣafiyyah ii 1052; Rieu 1159; Bankipar 1715-1719.

10. Badr b. Taj b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Lahore (in the 8th Century A. H.)

Nothing of the author is known to us except that he was a pupil of Diyā'u' d-Dīn Sunāmī who was a contemporary of the great saint Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliya' (d. 725/1324).

B. *Maṭālibu 'l-mu'minin* (مطالب المؤمنين): Bankipar 1720.

11. Abu 'l-Fath Rukn b. Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn *al-muftī* of Nāgor (either in the end of the 8th or in the beginning of the 9th century A. H.)

Nothing is known of his except that he was a *muftī* of Nāgor and that he composed his *Fatāwā* at Nahrwāla with the collaboration of his son Dāūd

*According to the *Nuzhat*, it is also called the *Zādū 's-safar* or *Zādū 'l-musafirīn*.

under the direction of *Qāḍī* Hammādu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. *Qāḍī* Akram, the chief *qāḍī* of Gujarāt.

A. *Al-Fatāwā al-Hammādiyyah* (الفتاوى الحماديّة):
Āṣafiyyah iii 436.

MSS. Bankipur XIX (i) 1723; Buhār (ii) 162; Delhi 815; Cario (iii) 88; Rāmpur 222; Bengal 14; Calcutta 41; India Office 1689-1691

12. *Shaykh* 'Alī b. Aḥmad Mahā'mī (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

A. *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī* (نقّه مخدومي).

MS. Āṣafiyyah ii 1096.

13. *Qāḍī* Shihabū 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zawulī Dawlatābādī (849/1445).

(For a short account of his life, refer to p. 167.)

[1. *Akhbār* 175, 2. *Firishṭah* ii 595, 3. Ā'in under the account of the *Sharqī* Kingdom, 4. *Ṭabaqāt* fol. 60, 5. *Ma'āthir* 188, 6. *Subḥah* 39, 7. *Abjad* 895, 8. *Nuḥāt* 128, 9. *Ḥada'iq* 319, 10. *Tadhkirah* 88, 11. *Mufīdu 'l-muḥṭā* 124, 12. *Āzād*, 14, 13. *Qāmus* ii 27, 14. *Tajallī* 33, 15. *Ency. Islām* i 932, 16. *Storey* No. 16, 17. *Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl* i 117 (foot note.)]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX, X.)

B. *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Bazdawī** (شرح اصول البزدوي):
MS. in possession of Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād
(see his *Tadhkirah* p. 280.)

14. Sa'du 'd-Dīn *Khayrābādī* (882/1477).

His father was a *qāḍī* at *Khayrābād*. He was a pupil of Mawlānā A'zam of Lucknow and a disciple of *Shaykh* Menā Lakhnawī. He composed several works.

[1. *Ma'āthir* 190, 2. *Subḥah* 42, 3. *Abjad* 894, 4. *Ḥada'iq* 336, *Tadhkirah* 75.]

*According to the Bankipur Catalogue (Vol. XIX part ii No. 1749) the work is assigned to Shihabū 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥd., commonly called Nizamu 'l-Jilānī, the author of the *Fatāwa Ibrahim Shāhiyyah*.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, IX.)

C. i. *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Bazdawī* (شرح اصول البزدوي) : Ibid.
Abjad 894.

Sharḥ al-Husāmī (شرح الحسامي) : Ibid.

15. Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Sa'du 'd-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm (891/1486).*

He was a learned man of Delhi.

[1. *Tadhkirah* 76, 2. Brockelmann ii 220.]

B. *Ifāḍatu 'l-Manār, Sharḥ al-Manār* (إفاضة المنار) : *Āṣafiyyah* i 98; *Koprılı* 508; *Dāmād Ibrāhīm* 483; *Walī* 978; *Āyā Ṣafiyyah* 988; *Cairo* ii 238; *Yenī* 308/9.

C. *Sharḥ Kanz al-daḡ'iḡ* (شرح كنز الدقائق) : *Tadhkirah* 76.

16. *Qaṣī* Chakan (920/1514).

He was an eminent Scholar of Gujarat.

[1. *Khalīfah* iii 135, 2. Brockelmann ii 221,

3. *Buhār* No. 156, 4. *Mufīdu 'l-Muḡtī* ii 32.]

B. *Khizānatu 'r-rivāyāt* (خزانة الروایات) : *Walī* 1437; *Yenī* 605; *Nūr 'Uḡmānī* 1520; *Āshir* 326; *Buhār* ii, 156; *Bankipūr* xix (i) 1736-39; *Bengāl* ii 352; *Loth* 276; *Rampur* 172; *Āṣafiyyah* ii 1084; *India Office* 1603-4.

17. *Ilahdād* of Jawnpur (932/1525).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* (شرح الهداية) : *Salīmyyah* 433; *Āṭif* 262; *Walī* 1319; *Peshawar* 516-7.

C. *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Bazdawī* (شرح اصول البزدوي) : *Tadhkirah* 25.

18. *Shihābu 'd-Dīn Aḡmad* b. Muḡammad entitled *Nizām al-Jilānī* (either in the 9th or 10th century A. H.)

He was an erudite scholar who was brought up in Gujarat. It is controversial whether he flourished in

the 9th or 10th century A. H. According to an article which appeared in the celebrated Urdu periodical *Ma'arif* of A'zamgarh for May, 1930, (p. 347) he wrote his *Fatawa* for Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (803-844/1400-1440). The same view is held by Muḥammed 'Abdu 'l-Awwal Jawnpurī in his *Muḥṣadu 'l-muḥṣu* ii (p. 99) where it is recorded that Nizām Jilānī was a contemporary of Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatabādī and that his grave is still existing at Jawnpur. The other view is* that he dedicated his *Fatawa* to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (941-965/1535-1557).

- B. *Fatawa Ibrahīm Shahiyyah* (فتاویٰ ابراهیم شاہیہ):
Buhār 159; Bankīpur 1749-52; Āṣafiyyah
ii 1052; iii 422; Calcutta 40; Rāmpr p. 221;
India office 1704, 1705; Naddhīr Aḥmad 46.

19. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Awwal of Zaydpur (968/1560).
(For another work of his, see section II.)

- C. i. *Nazmu 'l-Fara'idī 's-Sirājiyyah* (نظم الفرائض السراجیہ): Hada'iq 375.
ii. *Sharḥ 'l-Fara'idī 's-Sirājiyyah* (شرح الفرائض السراجیہ): Ibid.

20. Shaykh Jalāl Thānisarī (989/1581).

He was a leading disciple of the saint 'Abdu 'l-Quddus of Gangoh, a village near Sahāranpur and was well-versed in esoteric and exoteric learning.

- [1. *Haft Iqlīm* No. 380, 2. *Akhbār* 277, 3. *Badā'unī* iii 3, 4. *Safinah* 101, 5. *Ṭabaqāt* fol. 192, 6. *Tadhki-rah* 40.]

- A. *Risalah fi Tahqiq aradī al-Hind* (رسالہ فی تحقیق اراضی الہند): In Bri.Mus.
MS. India Office 1730, where the title of the work and the name of the author are wrongly given as the *Aḥkamu 'l-aradī* and

* See 1. Buhār Arabic Mss. Catalogue ii 159.

2. Bankīpur Catalogue xix part ii No. 1749.

3. Naddhīr Aḥmad No. 46, where *Al-Nadwah* for 1910 (No. 8 pp. 25-28) has been quoted as one of his authorities.

Muḥd. A'lā Ibn Qāḍī Muḥd. Ḥamid Ibn Muḥd. Ṣābir Thānawī respectively.¹

21. *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpari (990/1582).

He was one of the eminent scholars of his time. Humāyūn conferred upon him the titles of *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* and *Shaykhu 'l-Islām*. After Humāyūn's death he was attached to his son Akbar's Court. He played a prominent part in the religious discussions which were organised by Akbar. It is said that it was chiefly due to his bigotry that Akbar became hostile to the orthodox creed of Islām.

[1. Badā'unī iii 70, 2. Tabaqat fol. 209 b, 3. Ma'āthiru 'l-umarā' iii 252, 4. Ḥadā'iq 397, 5. Beale 7, 6. Tadhkirah 103.]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. *Risālāh fi 'l-Mubāḥ* (رساله في المباح) Bengal ii 41.

22. Zaynu 'd-Dīn b. 'Abdal-'Azīz al-Ma'barī (after 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, VIII.)

A. i. *Qurratu 'l-'ayn* (قُرَّةُ الْعَيْنِ):

In British Mus.

ii. *Fathu 'l-mu'īn bi-sharḥ Qurratu 'l-'ayn* (فتح العين بشرح قُرَّةِ الْعَيْنِ): Ibid.

MS. Āṣafīyyah iv 458.

23. Raḥmat Ullāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (993/1585).²

He was a native of Sindh but he migrated to Madīnah and died at Makkah.

[1. Al-Nar folio 153, 2. Al-Kawākib folio 204, 3. Akhbār 273, 4. Tarabu 'l-amāthil 220, 5. Brockelmann ii 416, 6. Tadhkirah 62.]

1. See also No. 57 of this section.

2. 990/1582 according to the *Tadhkirah* p. 61.

A. i. *Iubābu 'l-manāsik wa 'ubābu 'l-mūsālik* (لباب المناسك وعباب المسالك): see Mu'jam 930.
MSS. Rāmpūr 224; Bankipūr 1760;
Āṣafiyyah i 1102.

ii. *Majma'u 'l-manāsik wa naṣf 'u 'l-nāsik* (مجمع المناسك و نصف الناسك): Ibid.

MSS. Cairo iii 270; Sulaymaniyyah 412
(where wrongly assigned to 'Abd Allāh
b. Ibrāhīm).

B. i. *Al-Manāsiku 's-saḡḡir* (المناسك الصغيرة):
Berlin 4055.

ii. *Al-Manāsiku 'l-awṣaḥ* (المناسك الاوسطا):
Peshawar 635.

iii. *Risālah fī 'Iqida' bi 'sh-Shaḥfi'yyah wa
'l-khilāf bi dhalik* (رساله في اقداد بالشافعية و
الخلافاً بذلك): Cairo vii 386.

24. Wajihu-'d-Dīn Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, IX.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah* (حاشية على
شرح الوقاية): Bahār 164; Rāmpūr 186.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Talwīḥ* (حاشية على التلويح):
Nadwah 712.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*.
(حاشية على اصول البزدوي): Tadhkirah 250.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Sharḥ al-'Aḍudī 'alā al-
Mukhtaṣar li Ibn al-Hājib* (حاشية على
الشرح المصغر لابن حاجب): Ibid.

25. 'Alī b. Ahmad Sa'id al-Ma'barī (in the beginning
of the 11th century).

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Fathī 'l-mu'tin* (حاشية على فتح
المؤمنين): In Bri. Mus.

26. Qādī Abu 'l-Ma'ālī b. Khwājah al-Bukhārī, commonly called *Qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ma'ālī (in the tenth century A. H.).

He was an authority on *fiqh*, and was a pupil and son-in-law of 'Azizān al-Bukhārī. On coming to India he settled at Agra where he died.

(1. Tadhkirah 6, 2. Bankīpur 1752)

B. *Hasbu 'l-Muftī* (حسب المفتي): Bankīpur 1752, Cairo iii 41, Rāmpur 167.

27. 'Atiq Allāh b. Isma'īl b. Sh. Qāsim (in the time of Akbar—963-1014/1556-1605).

B. *Fatāwā Akbar Shāhī* (فتاوی اکبر شاهی): Āsafīyah ii 1052.

28. Shaykh Hamid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī (1009/1600).

[Muhibbī ii 327]

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-ḥasan fi jawāz iqtidā' bi 'l-Imām al-Shāfi'ī fi 'n-nawāzil wa 'l-sunan* (القول الحسن): Rāmpur 238.

29. Nur Allāh Shustarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VII, IX.)

B. i. *Nihāyat al-'aqlām* (نهاية الاقدام): Miftah 1096, Bengal i 1074.

C. i. *Risālah fi Najāsati 'l-khamr* (رساله في نجاسة الخمر): Kashf.

ii. *Risālah fi-Ḡhusli 'l-juma'ah* (رساله في غسل الجمعة): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fi Taqdīr al-mā'i 'l-kathīr* (رساله في تقدير الماء الكثير): Ibid.

vi. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Hidāyah* (حاشية على الهداية): Ibid.

- v. *Risālah fī 'l-Kaffārah* (رساله في الكفارة): Ibid.
- vi. *Hāshiyah 'alā Qawā'idī 'l-ahkām fī 'l-fiqh* (حاشية على قواعد الاحكام في الفقه): Ibid.
- vii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-Wiqāyah* (حاشية على شرح (الوقاية): Ibid.
- viii. *Al-Lum'ah fī ṣalāti 'l-jum'a'ah* (اللمعة في صلاة الجمعة): Ibid.

30. Muḥd. Sharif Kanboh (in the time of the Emperor Jahāngir—1014-1037/1605-1627).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, VI, IX.)

B. *Mullamu 'l-ghayb* (ملهم الغيب):

Bankipur 1779.

31. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VI, IX.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Husāmī* (حاشية على الحسامي): Peshawar 527.

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Talwīḥ* (حاشية على التلويح): Lalah-li 709 ; Asad Āyā 458 ; Jami' Sharifi 252 ; Asad 458 ; Cairo ii 261 ; Loth 326 ; Āṣa-
fiyyah i 92 ; Peshawar 575 ; Rāmpur 270.

32. 'Abdu 's-Salam of Diwah (in the time of Shāh-jahan—1037-1069/1628-1659).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)

B. *Ishrahātu 'l-ma'āliyyah, Sharḥ al-manār* (اشراحات المآل): Miftāḥ 740; Nadhir Ahmad 135.

33. 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Jawnpuri entitled *Shamsu'l-Haqq b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamid* (1083/1672).

He was a pupil of Sh. Faḍl Allāh Jawnpari, and was a distinguished scholar and author of his time. He also composed verses, his *takhalluṣ* being Shamsī.

- [1. Ma'āthir 203, 2. Subḥah 66, 3. Abjad. 902, 4. Ḥada 'iq 456, 5. Tajallī 49-61, 6. Tadhkirah 119, 7. Āzād 37.]

(For another work of his, see sections VI.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Sharḥ al-'Adudī* (حاشیه علی الشرح العودی علی مختصر الأصول): Ma'āthir 204.

34. Mu'ṭnu 'd-Dīn b. Khwājah Maḥmad Naqshbandī (1085/1674).

He was an eminent scholar of Kashmir.

[Tadhkirah 229]

B. *Al-Fatāwā al-naqshbandiyyah* (الفتاوی النخشبنديه): Bānkīpār 1785 ; Rāmpur 229.

C. *Kanzu l-sa'ādāt* (كنز السعادة): Tadhkirah 229.

35. Abu 'l-Labīb 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (11th century A. H.).

For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. i. *Zādu 'l-Labīb fī safarī 'l-labīb* (زاد اللبيب فی سفر لبيب): Peshāwar 591.

ii. *Al-Taṣrīḥ bi ghawāmiṭi 'l-Talwīḥ* (التصريح بغوامض التلويح): Loth 327.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Ḥidāyah* (حاشیه علی الهدایه): Farḥat 74.

36. 'Abdu 'l-Laṭīf b. Jamāl b. Ḥamīd al-Nahrwālī (11th century A. H.).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

B. *Sharḥ Mawāhib al-Raḥmān* (شرح مواهب الرحمن): Bānkīpār 1743.

37. Shaykh Nizām (and other scholars) in the time of Awrangzib—1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was a resident of Burhānpar and a pupil of Qāḍī Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Burhānparī. He entered into the service of Awrangzib when he was the Governor of Deccan. Nizām was the president of the committee of the Indian Muslim Jurists, which was appointed by Awrangzib to compose a most authentic and comprehensive work on the *Hanafī Fiqh*. We have no complete list of the members of the committee. The author of the *Mufīdu 'l-Muftī* says that he could, with great difficulty, find out the following five names in addition to Nizām :—

1. Mulla Ḥamid Jawnpurī, 2. Qāḍī Muḥd. Ḥusayn Jawnpurī, 3. Muḥd. Abu 'l-Khayr of Thattah, 4. Mulla Muḥd. Jamāl Ṣiddiqī Jawnpurī, 5. Jalāl 'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Machhlīshīhr.

[1. 'Ālamgir-Namah 1087, 2. Farḥat, 73, 3. Tadhkirah 242. 4. Mufīdu 'l-Muftī III.]

A. *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgiri* (also called *al-Fatāwā al-Hindīyyah* (فتاوى عالمگیری یا الفتاوى الهندية) :

MSS. Berlin 4441-2 ; Loth 275 ; Āṣafīyyah p. 1054-5 ; India Office 1706-11 ; Bri. Mus. Supp. 299-300 ; Delhi 618 ; Rāmpur 225 ; Bengal 16 ; Asad Āya 1102 ; Nur 'Uṭhmānī 47 ; Cairo iii 93 ; Bankipur XIX (ii) Nos. 1789-1799.

38. Qāḍī Muḥibb Allāh b. 'Abd al-Shakur of Behār (1119/1707).

He was a pupil of *Mulla* Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Shamsabadī. Having completed his studies, he went to the Deccan and entered into the service of Awrangzib who appointed him Qāḍī first at Lucknow and then at Hyderābad,

later on he was put in charge of the education of the Emperor's grandson Rafī'u 'sh-Shān. Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur Shāh appointed him *Ṣadru 's-sudūr* of the Empire and conferred the title of *Fāḍil Khān* upon him. He was one of the most eminent scholars of his age in India.

- [1. Ma'aṭhīr 211, 2. Subḥah 76, 3. Abjad 905, 4. Brockelmann II 420, 5. Tadhkirah 175, 6. Ency. Islam I 717, 7. J.A.S.B. of 1913 p. 295, 8. Āzād 42, 9. Qamus ii 177]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI.)

A. *Musallam al-thubūt* (مسلم الثبوت):

MSS. Miftāḥ 757; Rampur 278; Āṣafiyyah i 102, iv 36; Calcutta 27; Bankipar XIX (i) 1530-32; India Office 1489-1494.

B. *Minḥiyyah 'alā Musallam al-thubūt* (منحیه علی مسلم الثبوت): Rampur 279.

39. Mufti Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Shaykh Husāmu 'd-Dīn (during Awrangzib's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

(Tadhkirah 35 under Turāb 'Alī; Bankipar IX (ii) Nos. 1800-1)

B. *Mujama'u 'l-barakāt* (مجمل البرکات): Āṣafiyyah iv 422; India Office 1701-2; Miftāḥ 1044; Bankipar XIX (ii) Nos. 1800; Rampur No. 515.

40. Mullā Muḥd. Muḥsin Kashu Kashmiri (1119/1707).

He was one of the eminent scholars of Kashmir.

(1. Rawḍatu 'l-abrar 8, 2. Ḥada'iq 432, 3. Tadhkirah 212.)

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Hidāyah* (حاشیه علی الهدایه):
Tadhkirah 212

41. Mullā Ahmad Jiwan b. Abi Sa'īd (1130/1717).

(For other works of his, see section I.)

- A. *Nūru 'l-anwār sharḥ al-Manār* (نور الأنوار شرح المنار):

MSS Loth 316; Aligarh 109; Āṣafiyyah i 102, iv 38; Bankipur XIX (i), No. 1511; India Office 1456-1460.

42. *Qāḍī Muḥd. 'Isā b. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Majīd Sid-dīqī* of Junagarh (Farrukhsiyar's time—1124-1131/1713-1719).

He was a Qāḍī at Junagarh and was well versed in the Islamic learning.

- B. *Fathu 'l-qāḍī Sharḥ al-Hidāyah* (فتح القادر شرح الهداية): only a portion is in the possession of one of his descendants, Qāḍī Aḥmad Miyan Akhtar of Junagarh.

43. *Hāfiẓ Amān Allāh b. Nur Allāh* of Benares (1133/1720).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VI.)

- B. *Muḥkamū 'l-uṣūl* (محكم الأصول): Bengal 1902.

- C. i. *Al-Mufasssīr fī 'l-uṣūl* (المفسر في الأصول): Tadhkirah 27.

- ii. *Al-Hāshiyah 'alā al-Talwīh* (الحاشية على التلويح): Ibid.

44. *Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Taju 'd-Dīn Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī*, called *Fāḥil-i-Hīndī* (1137/1724).

[Nujam 211]

(For other works of his, see section IX.)

- A. *Kaṣḥf liḥāmī 'l-ibḥām fī sharḥ qawā'id 'l-aḥkām* (كشف لئام الإبهام في شرح قواعد الاحكام): Bri. Mus.

- C. i. *Al-Zubdah fī uṣūlī 'd-dīn* (الزبدية في أصول الدين): *Kashf*.
 ii. *Al-Manāhijū 'n-nahawīyyah fī sharḥ al-Rawḍātu 'l-bahīyyah* (المناهج النبوية في شرح الروضات البهية):
 [Nujūm 211]

45. Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥādī al-Sindī 1138/1725).

(For other works of his, refer to section II.)

- B. *Manḥalu 'l-hudāt fī sharḥ Mu'addil 's-salāt* (منهل الهدى في شرح معدل الصلوة): *Āṣaṭiyyah* ii 1106; *Lalah* li 1021.

46. Ḥabīb Allāh of Qannawj (1140/1727).

[*Tadhkirah* 46]

- C. i. *Al-Fāṭil fī 'l-fiqh* (الفاضل في الفقه): *Ibid*.
 ii. *Mukhtaṣaru 'l-frā'ī* (مختصر الفرائض): see *Bānkīpur* 1960 ii.

47. Abu 'l-Ma'ārif 'Inayat Allāh Qādīrī Lahūrī (1141/1728).

[*Tadhkirah* 152]

- C. i. *Multaḡaṭu 'l-ḥaqā'iq fī sharḥ Kanzi 'd-daḡā'iq* (ملتقط الحقائق في شرح كنز الدقائق): *Ibid*.
 ii. *Ḥāyatu 'l-ḥawā'shi 'alā sharḥ 'l-Wiqāyah* (حياة الحواشي على شرح الوقاية): *Ibid*.

48. Shāh Khub Allāh Muḥammad Yahya of Allahabad (1144/1731).

He was the nephew, disciple and son-in-law of Muḥammad Afḡal of Allahabad.

[*Tadhkirah* 58]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

- C. *Al-Qawlu 's-saḥīḥ fī ṣalāti 't-taṣbīḥ* (القول الصحيح في صلاة التسبيح): *Tadhkirah* 58.

49. Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Qā'ī 'Abdu 'r-Rasul al- 'Uth-mānī of Aḥmadnagar (d. after 1144/1731).

He was a pupil and disciple of Wajihu'd-Din 'Alawi of Gujarāt.

[1. Tadhkirah 135; 2. Bankipur 2010].

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Farā'īh 's-sirājiyyah*
(حاشیه علی الفرائض السراجیه): Āṣafiyyah ii 1082.

50. Nuru'd-Din b. Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmadābādī
(1155:1742).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II,
IV, V, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Talwih* (حاشیه علی التلویم):
Tadhkirah 248.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ 'l-Wiqāyah* (حاشیه
علی شرح الوقایه): Ibid.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ 'l-Matāl* (حاشیه
علی شرح المطال): Ibid.

51. Ḥamd Allāh b. Shukr Allāh of Sandila (1160/
1747).

He was one of the eminent pupils of Mulla Nizamu'd-Din Siḥalawī. He received the title of *Faḍl Allāh Khān* from the king of Delhi. He was chiefly interested in the studies of Philosophy. His commentary on *Tas-diqāt Sullasni 'l-'ulūm* by Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār is well known in India.

[1. Tadhkirah 52, 2. Maḥbab 423].

(For other works of his, refer to section VI.)

B. *Sharḥ Zubdatu 'l-uṣūl* (شرح زبدة الأصول): Mif-
tāḥ 725; Bengal i 553.

52. *Mulla* Nizāmu 'd-Dīn b. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn al-Sihālawī (1161/1748).

After his father's death, he continued his studies under Ḥafīz Amān Allāh of Benares, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn of Shamsabad and Ghulam Naqshband of Lucknow till he became one of the eminent scholars of his time. He was a disciple of Sayyid 'Abdur 'r-Razzāq Ḥausawī.

- [1. Ma'aṭhir 220, 2. Subḥah 94, 3. Abjad 911, 4. Ḥada'iq 455, 5. Tadhkirah 241, 6. Farangī 179, 7. 'Abdu 'l-Awwals' Mufīdu 'l-Mufti 133, 8. Āzād 58.]

(For other works of his, refer to sections V, VI.)

B. i. *Sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (شرح مسلم الثبوت): Loth 332; Bengal i 602; Būḥār 140; Āṣafiyyah i 98; Miftah 735; Rampur 274; Nadwah 713.

ii. *Al-Subḥu 's-sādiq sharḥ al-Manār* (الصبح الصادق شرح المنار): Rampur 275.

iii. *Sharḥu 't-Tahrir fi usūli 'd-dīn* (شرح التحرير في أصول الدين): Bengal i 536.

53. Muḥammad Hashim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghāfar al-Sindī (1174/1760).

(For other works of his, see sections II, V.)

A. *Farā'idu 'l-islām* (فرائد الإسلام): Bri. Mus.

B. i. *Risālah fi waḍ'ī 'l-yadayn taḥta 's-surrah* (رسالة في وضع اليدين تحت السر): Peshāwar 598.

ii. *Risālah Fakihatu 'l-bustān* (رسالة فاكهة البستان): Ibid. 897; Bānkīpur 1802.

iii. *Al-Bayādu 'l-jāmi'ah fi aqwāli 'l-fuqahā'* (البياض الجامعة في أقوال الفقهاء): Bānkīpur 1803; Āṣafiyyah iv 434.

- iv. *Tanqīḥu 'l-kalām 'an qirā'at khalṣi 'l-imām*
(تنقيح الكلام عن قرائت خالص الإمام): *Āṣafiyyah* iv
434.

54. *Shāh* Wālī Allāh b. 'Abdur 'r- Raḥīm of Delhi
(1176/1762).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II,
IV, V, X, XI)

- A. i. *'Iqdu 'l-jud fī aḥkāmī 'l-ijtihād wa 'l-*
taqlīd (عقد الهدى في أحكام الاجتهاد والتقليد):
Bri. Mus.

MSS. *Āṣafiyyah* i 98, iii 44; Miftāḥ 2711; Rām-
pur 276.

- ii. *Al-Inṣāf fī bayān sabab 'l-ikhtilāf* (الإنصاف
في بيان سبب الاختلاف): Ibid.

MSS. Miftāḥ 2614/3; Bengal 182; Rampur 281;
Āṣafiyyah i 88.

55. Rustam 'Alī b. 'Alī Aṣḡhar al-Qannawjī (1178/
1764).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)-

- C. *Sharḥu 'l-Manār* (شرح المنار): Abjad 932.

56. *Mullā* Nur Muḥammad called Nur Baba Patlu of
Kashmir (1195/1780).

He was a pupil of 'Abdu 's-Sattār Kāshmirī and *Qāḍī*
Mubārak Gopāmawī.

[1. *Ḥadā'iq* 458, 2. *Tadhkirah* 248.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyati 'l-Siyalkūtī 'alā*
'i-Talwīḥ (حاشية على حاشية السيالكوني على التلويح):
Miftāḥ 708; Rampur 270.

57. *Qāḍī* Muḥd. A'lā b. *Qāḍī* Muḥd. Ḥamīd Thānawar (in 11th century).

B. *Risalah Ahkam al-arāḍi* (رساله احكام الاراضى):*
India Office 1730; Āṣaḥḥyah iv 434.

58. Ṣāhib-zādah Miyān Muḥammadī (12th century)

B. *Burhān 'l-usūl* (برهان الأصول): Peshawar 581.

59. Muḥammad A'lam al-Sandīlī (12th century).

(Tadhkirah 180.)

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Al-Mathalu 's-sā'ir fī ka-shfi 'd-Dā'ir* (المثل السائر في كشف الدائر): Delhi 1575.

60. *Mullā* Barakat (12th century)

[See Bānkīpur x 545.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI, VIII.)

B. *Sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (شرح مسلم الثبوت):
Rampar 144.

61. *Shaykh* Muḥd. Abu' ṭ-Tayyib al-Sindī (12th century).

(For another work of his, see section II.)

B. *Qurratu 'l-anṣār, Hāshiyah 'alā Tanwīr al-Manār* (قرة الانصار حاشية على تنوير المنار): Peshawar 547.

62. *Qāḍī* Ahmad 'Alī b. Sayyid Fath Al'āh of Sandīlah (12th century).

He was the pupil and son-in-law of Ahmad Allah of Sandīlah. He held the post of *qāḍī* at his native

*See also No. 20. In the opinion of the present writer both the works are the same. The difference of the titles is very insignificant. The chief difference is, however, about the author-ship. According to the printed copy of *اراضى تكتيقي هند* which the present writer saw at the Bri. Mus., the name of the author is, as far as his memory goes, and also as far as the written notes that he has with him throw light on this matter. Shaykh Jalāl Thanasari, and according to the Āṣaḥḥyah Catalogue and also to the Arabic India Office Catalogue No. 1730, it is Muḥammad A'la. Hence the one and the same book has been shown under two different authors according to their periods in this work. The India Office Catalogue does not give the period of the author, but according to the Āṣaḥḥyah Catalogue iv 484 it is 11th century.

place under the Delhi Government. He has several works to his credit.

[Tadhkirah 20.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Risālah fi Farā'idī 'l-Hanafīyyah* (رساله في الفرائض الحنفية): Ibid.

63. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV, V, IX.)

A. i. *Nashwatu 'l-irtiyāh fi bayān haqīqati 'l-maysar wa 'l-qiddāh* (نشوة الارتياح في بيان حقيقة الميسر والقداح): Bri. Mus.

MS. Berlin 5502.

ii. *'Uqūdu 'l-Jawāhiri 'l-munīfah fi adillat Abī Hanīfah* (عقود الجواهر المنيفة في أدلة أبي حنيفة): Bri. Mus.

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-musmū' fi 'l-farq bayni 'l-kar' wa 'l-makrū'* (القول المسموع في الفرق بين الكرم والمكر): Nadwah (N) 11.

C. i. *Kaṣṣatu 'l-ghīṭa 'anī 's-salāti 'l-wusta* (كشف الغطاء عن الصلاة الوسطى): Tadhkirah 225.

ii. *Al-Ihtifal bi 's-sawmi 's-sittah min Shawwal* (الاحتفال بالصوم الستة من شوال): Ibid.

iii. *Amālī Abī Hanīfah* (امالي أبي حنيفة): Ma'arif of A'zamgarh Vol. xix, No. 2, p. 118.

64. *Mullā Muḥd. Ḥasan b. Ghulam Mustafā of Lucknow* (1209/1794),

He was a great grandson of *Mullā* Qutbu d-Dīn Sihālāwī and a pupil of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Sihālāwī. He was chiefly interested in the Philosophic studies. He has many work to his credit.

- [1. *Al Aghṣānu 'l-arba'ah* 8. 2. *Tadhkirāh* 185, 3. *Mahbub* 191, 4. *Bahar* No. 310 ii, 5. *Farangī* 47.]

(For other works of his, refer to sections V, VI)

B. *Sharḥ Musallamī 'th-thubūt* (شرح مسلم التبوّات):
India Office 1496; Rāmpur 275; Āṣafiyyah
i 96.

65. Muḥammad Qasim b. Da'im al-Bardawānī
(Composed in 1209/1794)

B. *Bid'atu 'l-muṭṭan* (بدء المصطفى): Bengal ii 94.

66. 'Abdu 'l-Basīṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj
(1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ Mukhtasar al-Farā'id* (شرح مختصر الفرائد):
Bankīpur 1960 ii.

67. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn b. *Mullā* Muḥibb
Allāh (1225/1810).

He was a descendant of Qutbu d-Dīn Sihālāwī and a pupil of *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan.

- [1. *Farangī*, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Basīṭ's *Āḥḥāru 'l-uwal* 30, 3. *Tadhkirah* 211].

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI.)

B. *Sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (شرح مسلم التبوّات):
Miftāḥ 736; Rāmpur 274.

68. Mirzā Ḥasan 'Alī Ṣaghīr Muḥaddith of Lucknow
(d. after 1226/1811).

[*Tadhkirah* 48].

C. *Tuḥfatu 'l-muṣṭaq fi 'n-nikah wa 's-sudāq* (نصفه المشتاق في النكاح والصداق): Ibid.

69. Sayyid Dildar 'Alī al-Mujtahid al-Shī'ī (1235/1819).

He was born in 1166/1752. He is the first Shī'ah scholar of India who rose to the position of *mujtahid*. In philosophical studies he was a pupil of Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Aḥmad Allāh Sandrī and of Bāb Allāh b. Ḥamd Allāh Sandrī. He completed his theological studies under Sayyid Alī Ṭabāṭabā'ī in India and under Sayyid Mahdī b. Sayyid Hidayat Allāh at Mashhad. He has many works to his credit.

[1. Najam 346, 2. Tadhkirah 60; 3. Kashf, 4. Tadhkirah-i-bi-bahā 146].

(For other works of his, refer to section V.)

A. i. *Asāsu 'l-uṣūl* (أساس الأصول). MSS. Āsa-
fiyyah i 88 ; Bengal ii 92.

ii. *Imādu 'l-Islām* known as *mir'atu 'l-
'uqūl fi 'ilmi 'l-uṣūl* (عماد الإسلام الشهير بمروءة
العقول في علم الأصول).

B. *Al-Sayfu 'l-masīḥ* (السيف الماسح): India Office
1868.

C. i. *Sharḥ Bāb al-ṣawm min Ḥadiqati 'l-
muttaqīn* (شرح باب الصوم من حديقة المتقين):
Tadhkirah.

ii. *Sharḥ Bāb al-zakat min Ḥadiqati 'l-
muttaqīn* (شرح باب الزكاة من حديقة المتقين):
Ibid.

70. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Bharu 'l-'ulam (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, refer to sections II,
IV, V, VI, VII.)

A. i. *Fawatih*u 'r-Rahmūt fi *sharh* *Musallam al-thubūt* (فواتح الرحموت في شرح مسلم الثبوت). MSS : India Office 1494-95 ; Bān-kipar XIX (i) 1534-35 ; Rāmpar 277 ; Āṣafiyyah i 100.

ii. *Risālah al- Arkānu 'l-arba'ah* (رساله الأركان الأربعة). MSS. Bahār 167 ; Rāmpar 196 ; Āṣafiyyah ii 1070.

iii. *Tanwīru 'l-manār sharh al-Manār* (تنوير المنار شرح المنار): Bri. Mus.

C *Sharh Fiqh-i-akbar* (شرح فقه أكبر) : Tadh-kirah 123.

71. Amīn Allāh b. Muftī Muḥd. Akbar (1253/1837).

[1. Farangī 38, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Bārī's *Āthāru 'l-uwal* 8]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Tawḥīd wa al-Talwīḥ* (حاشية على التوحيد والتلويح) : Farangī 38.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharh Musallam al-thubūt* (حاشية على شرح مسلم الثبوت) : Ibid.

72. Salāmat 'Alī Khān known as Ḥadhāqat Khān (wrote the undermentioned book in 1212/1797).

A. *Kitab al-Ikhtiyār* (كتاب الاختيار).*

73. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Ghanī of Delhi (1246/1830).

*This book has been translated in Urdu by Mawlawī 'Abdu 's-Salam of A'zamgarh.

(For other works of his, see sections II, V, X.)

A. *Risālah fī Uṣūl al fiqh* (الرسالة في أصول الفقه) : Bri. Mus.

74. Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Sindī (1257/1841).

(For other works of his, see section II.)

C. *Taʾwīlu ʾl-awwār ʿalā al-Durr al-mukhlār* (تأويل الأنوار على الدر المختار): Tadhkirah 202.

75. Mullā Nuru ʾd-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl of Rampur (1270/1853).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

B. *Kitāb al-Taqwī wa Risālah al-ḥusnā* (كتاب التقوى ورسالة الحسنى): Rampur 239.

76. Wah Allah b. Ḥabīb Allah of Lucknow (1270/1853).

He was a descendant of Mullā Quṭb al-Shahīd. He wrote several books.

[1. Farangī, 2. Ātharu ʾl-uwal 33, 3. Tadhkirah 252.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI, VIII.)

C. i. *Nafḥ ʾisn ʾl-malakūt sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (نفث أسن الملکوت شرح مسلم الثبوت): Tadhkirah 252.

ii. *Ḥaṣhiyah al-Hidāyah* (حاشیة علی الهدایة): Ibid.

77. Abu ʿAbd Allah Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, V, VI.)

B. i. *Al-Wajiz al-rāʾiq* (الوجیز الرائق): Bengal i 1086 ; India Office 1850.

- ii. *Manāhiḡ al-taḡqīq wa ma'āriḡ al-taḡqīq* (مناهج التدقيق ومعارج التفتيش): India Office 1851.

C. i. *Rawḡat al-aḡkām* (روضة الأحكام): Kāshf.

- ii. *Risālah fi annahū ḡal yajūzu li 'l-mutabāḡḡirīn fi 'l-ijtihād an ya'mālū 'alā ra'yihim* (رسالته في أنه هل يجوز للمتبحرين في الاجتهاد ان يعملوا على رأيهم): Ibid.

78. *Khādim Aḡmad b. Mullā Haydar Farangī Maḡalli* (1271/1854).

- [1. Ḥadā'iq 746. 2 Farangī, 3 Āḡḡāru'l-uwal 14, 4. Taḡḡkirah 56.]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Al-Sa'ādatu 'l-abadiyyah fi taḡqīq al-Dā'irat 'l-hindiyyah* (السعادة الابدية في تحقيق الدائرة الهندية): Delhi 578.

C. *Taḡ'iqāt 'alā Shārh al-Wiqāyah* (تعليقات على شرح الوقاية): Taḡḡkirah 56.

79. 'Imād u 'd-Dīn Muḡammad 'Uḡmānī of Labkan.

He was a pupil of *Mullā 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḡru 'l-'ulum* (1235/1819) and also of *Mullā Muḡammad Ḥasan*.

[Taḡḡkirah 150]

(For other works of his, refer to section VI.)

B. *Zubḡatu 'l-farā'id* (زبدۃ الفرائض): Bānkīpar 1960.

80. *Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān* (in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company).

A. *Jamī' al-ta'zīrāt min Kutub al-thuḡāt* (جامع التعزيرات من كتب الثقة): Bri. Mus.

MSS, India Office 1718; Rāmpar 181.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. 'Abdu 'l Ghanī 'Abbāsī of Gwalior.
B. *Asāsu 'l-uṣūl* (اساس الاصول) : Rāmpūr 266.
2. *Ṣaḥīb-zādah* Miṣbān Gul of Chamkan (in Peshāwar).
B. *Lā'iḳ al sam'ah fī taḥqīqī 'l-jumu'ah* (لايق السمع في تحقيق الجمعة) : Peshāwar 654.
3. Ni'mat Allāh b. Ṭahir al-Nahrwālī.
B. *Ṣalātu 't-tarāwīḥ* (صلوة التراويح) : Peshāwar 695.
4. Ṭaḳiyyu 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Baqā Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qannawjī.
B. 1. *Muntahā al-murādāt* (منتهى المرادات) : Miftāḥ 1079.
2. *Sharḥ Muntahā al-murādāt* (شرح منتهى المرادات) : Ibid 951.
5. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī Samarqandī Shāhjahān-parī.
B. *Al-'Uthūr ilā dār al-surūr* (العثور الي دار السورور) : India Office 1719; Rāmpūr 214.
6. Shaykh Miṣbān of Lucknow.
B. *Fatāwā mukhtaṣar Shāfi'ī* (فتاوى مختصر شافعي) : Bengal 59.
7. Faṭḥ Muḥammad Muḥaddith b. Shaykh Isā of Burhānpar.
B. *Faṭḥu 'l-madhāhib* (فتح المذاهب) : Āṣafiyyah.
8. Zaynu 'l-Ābidīn Ghulam Muḥammad al- 'Abbāsī al-Awadī al-Bihārī.
B. *Rawḍatu 'l-anṣār* (روضة الانصار) : India Office 1734.
C. *Mi'yāru 'l-aṣkar fī Kashfi 'l-asrar** (معيار الانكار في كشف الاسرار) : Ibid.

*Dealing with Wudu' (وضوء)

SECTION IV

LITERATURE ON SŪFĪSM, ETHICS, ETC.

1. Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb of Hān-sī (659/1260).

He was a descendant of the great *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfah and one of the great *Khalīfahs* of Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shākargang. He founded a sub-branch, named after him, of the Chishtī Order.

[1. Ā'in-i-Akbarī ii 219, 2. Akhbār 67, 3. Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 285, 4. Taḍkīrah 42.]

A. *Mulhamāt* (ملهامات).

2. Abū Bakr Ishāq b. Tājū 'd-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Multānī, called Ibn Tāj (after 736/1335).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, III.)

B. i. *Dhikr al-dhikri 'l-akbar* (ذكر الذكر الأكبر) :
Berlin 3349.

ii. *Nisbatu Khirqati 't-taṣawwuf* (نسبة خرقته)
(التصوف) : Ibid 3348.

3. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirājū 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, IX.)

B. *Lawā 'ihū 'l-anwār fi 'l-radd 'alā man ankara 'alā 'l-ārifīn min laṭā 'ifi 'l-asrār*
لوائح الانوار في الرد على من انكر على العارفين من
(لطائف الاسرار) : Berlin 3322.

C. *Kitāb al-Taṣawwuf* (كتاب التصوف): Nuzhat 95.

4. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Shihābu 'd-Dīn al-Hamadhānī (786/1384).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

A. *Al-Awrādu 'l-fathiyyah* (الأوراد الفتحية): see Brockelmann ii 221.

MSS. Leid 2196; Loth 368-9; Stewart p. 175.

B. i. *Al-Mawaddah fi 'l-qurbā* (المودة في القربى): Bri. Mus. 890-1.

ii. *Manāzilu 's-sālikīn* (منازل السالكين): Ibid 890 v.

iii. *Risālah al-Qudsiyyah fī asrārī 'n-nuqlati 'l-hissiyyati 'l-mushārah ilā asrārī 'l-huwiyyati 'l-ghaybiyyah* (الرسالة القدسية في أسرار النقطة الخفية المشيرة إلى أسرار الهوية الغيبية): Loth 693 ii; Bri. Mus. 406; Cairo vii 548; India Office 1351.

iv. *Risālah al-Quddūsiyyat al-ummiyyah* (رسالة القدسية الأمية): Delhi 1146; India Office 1352.

C. i. *Adābu 'l-murīdīn* (آداب المریدین): Tadhkirah 148.

ii. *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-ḥusnā* (شرح الأسماء الحسنی): Ibid.

iii. *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (شرح فصوص الحکم): Tabaqāt f. 13 b.

iv. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdah Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (شرح قصيدة ابن الفارض): Ibid.

5. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Shārafu 'd-Dīn of Delhi (795/1392).

B. 'Aynu'l-Fuṣūṣ *sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ* (عين النصوص شرح): Āṣafiyyah i 376.

6. Sayyid Muḥammad Gisu-darāz b. Sayyid Yūsuf Husayn Chishtī (825/1421).

He was a *Khalīfah* of *Shaykh* Naṣru 'd-Din Maḥmūd entitled *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*. He was born at Delhi in 720/1320. After the death of his spiritual leader, he went to the Deccan where his credit as a saint rose very high. He lived and died at Gulbargah. He composed several works.

[1. Akhbār, 129 2. Ṭabaqat f. 43 b, 3. Khazmatu 'l-aṣfiya' 381, 4. Beale 264, 5. Tadhkirah 82.]

B. i. *Sharḥ al-Risālatu 'l-Qushayriyyah* (شرح الرسالة القشيرية): Āṣafiyyah i, 372.

ii. *Risālah fī Mas'alah ru'yati 'l-Bāri Ta'ālā* (الرسالة في مسائل رؤية الباري تعالى): Delhi 1952.

7. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imi (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V.)

B. i. *Dhawārifu 'l-laṭā'if fī sharḥ 'Awārif l-ma'ārif* (ذوارف اللطائف في شرح عوارف المعارف): Rāmpur 344 ; Bankipar xiii 863.

ii. *Mashra'u 'l-khuṣūs ilā ma'ān 'n-Nuṣūs* (مشروع الخصوص الى معاني النصوص): India Office 1328.

iii. *Sharḥ Adillati 't-tawḥīd* (شرح أدلة التوحيد): India Office 1362.

C. i. *Khuṣūṣu 'n-ni'am fī sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-hikam* (خصوص النعم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Damiru'l-insān (a biography of the author by S. Ibrāhim al-Madam) f. 25. *

* For a description of the work, refer to the catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the library of the Bombay University, p. 182.

- ii. *Kaṣḥf al-ẓulumāt* (كشف الظلمات): Ibid.
- iii. *Istijlā'u 'l-baṣar* (استجلاء البصر): Ibid.
- iv. *Nūru 'l-aẓhar* (نور الأضهر): Ibid.
- v. *Daw'u 'l-aẓhar fī ṣharḥ Nūri 'l aẓhar*
(ضوء الأضهر في شرح نور الأضهر): Ibid.
- vi. *Ta'rib-i-Lam'āt -i- 'Irāqī* (تعريب لمعات عراقية): Ibid.
- vii. *Mir'ātu 'l-ḥaqā'iq ta'rib Jām-i-jahānnumā*
(مرآة الحقائق تعريب جام جهان نما): Ibid.
- viii. *In'āmu 'l-Maliki 'l-'allām* (إنعام الملك للعلم): Ibid.
- ix. *Imḥāḍu 'n-naṣīḥah* (امحاض النصيحة): Ibid.
- x. *Risālah al-Wujūd fī ṣharḥ asmā'i 'l-Ma'būd* (الرسالة الوجود في شرح أسماء المعبود):
Editor's preface to the *Fiqh-i-Makhdumī*.

8. Sa'du 'd-Dīn Khayrabādī (882/1477).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

C. *Risālah al-Makkiyyah* (الرسالة المكية): *Tadhkirah* 76.

9. Zaynu 'd-Dīn Abū Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ma'barī (928/1521).

Born in 873/1468 at Kushan, he was a great scholar and an author of many works. He was a poet too. In addition to the works mentioned below, the following works are said to have been written by him*, none of which is known to the present author as extant:—

*Refer to an article by S. Aḥmad Allāh Qādiri, published in the Urdu periodical *Zamanah* (For January 1933, pp. 35-39).

Tuhfatu 'l-aḥibbā' (تحفة الاحياء), *Shamsu 'l-hudā* (شمس الهدى), *Irshādu 'l-qāṣidīn* (ارشاد القاصدين), *Kitāb al-Ṣafā' min al-Shifā'* (كتاب الصفاء من الشفاء), *Tashīlu 'l-Kāfiyah* (تسهيل الكافية), *Kifāyatu 'l-farā'id* (كفاية الفرائد), *Hāshiyah Alfīyyah Ibn Mālik* (حاشية الفقه ابن مالك), *Hāshiyah Tuhfah Ibn 'l-Wardī* (حاشية تحفة ابن الردي), *Hāshiyah Irshād li Ibn Maqqarī* (حاشية ارشاد لابن مقري) and *Tahrīṣ ihlī 'l-imān 'alā jihād 'abadati 's-ṣulbān* (تحرير عقل الايمان علي جهاد عبدة الصلبان).

[1. Al-sana'u 'l-bahir, takmil al-Nur al-safir f. 232-3, 2. Brockelmann ii 221, 3. The Zamānah for January 1933 p. 35].

A. *Hidāyatu 'l-adhkiyā' ilā ṭarīqi 'l-awliyā'* (هداية الاذكياء الي طريق الاولياء).

MSS. Cairo ii 135; iii 258.

C. i. *Murshidu 'l-tullāb* (مرشد الطلاب): The Zamānah.

ii. *Sirāju 'l-qulūb* (سراج القلوب): Ibid.

10. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Zaynu 'd-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā b. Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ma'barī (in the tenth century).

He was the son of the above-mentioned Zaynu 'd-Dīn, the author of the *Hidāyatu 'l-adhkiyā'*. He wrote two commentaries on the above said work of his father: one is comprehensive, which is published and the other is brief.

A. *Maslak al-iftiyā' fī shرح هداية* (مسلك الافتاء في شرح هداية الاذكياء).

B. *Irshādu 'l-alibbā' ilā Hidāyati 'l-adhkiyā'* (ارشاد الالباء الي هداية الاذكياء): Āṣafīyyah iii 188.

11. 'Abdu 'l-Malik b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafur, generally called **Amān Allah Pānīpatī** (957/1550).

He was a pupil of Shaykh Mawdūd Larī (d. 907/1501) and a disciple of Sh. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir of Jawnpur. He is said to be the author of several books.

[1. Ṭabaqāt f. 159 b., 2. Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 424, 3. Tadhkirah 27.]

B. *Risalah fi ihbati 'l-ahādiyyat* (الرسالة في إنبات الأحدية): Āṣafiyyah i 628.

C. *Risalah Ghayriyyah* (رسالة غيرية): Tadhkirah 27.

12. Mirak Shāh (956/1549).

[Ṭabaqāt f. 168 b]

C. *Sharḥ al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣin* (شرح الحصن الحصين): Ibid.

13. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz al Dihlawī b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir Jawnpurī (975/1567).

Born in 898 at Jawnpur, migrated to Delhi with his father while he was a baby. He received esoteric and exoteric education from his father.

[1. Ṭabaqāt folio 196, 2 Tadhkirah 121.]

C. *Risalah 'Ayniyyah* (رسالة عينية في تروديد رساله غيرية): Ibid.

14. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Muttaqī b. Huṣāmu 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Malik Burhānpurī (975/1567).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, XI)

B. i. *Al-'Unwān fi sulūki 'n-niswān* (العنوان في سلوك النساء): Cairo ii 96.

ii. *Al-Burhānu 'l-jalīyy fi ma'rifati 'l-waliyy* (البرهان الجلي في معرفة الولي): Berlin 3368.

iii. *Al-Mawāhibu 'l-'aliyyah fi 'l-jam' bayn al-ḥikami 'l Qur'āniyyah wa 'l- ḥadīthiyyah* (المواهب العلية في الجمع بين الحكم القرآنية (والحدیثية): Asad Āyā 1769, Cairo viii 347.

iv. *Jawāmi 'u 'l-kilam fi 'l-mawā'iz wa 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلام في المواعظ والحكم): Paris 1353; Berlin 8703; Loth 675-4. Cairo vii 348; Bengal E. 43; Rampur 334; Bankipur xiii 926 (an autograph copy); 'Aligarh p. 115.

v. *Tatwīb sharḥi 'l-ḥikami 'l-'Alā'iyyah al-Musamma bi al-Tanbīh* (تتويب شرح الحكم العطائية السمي بالتنبيه): Delhi 1855; India Office 13-7; Bengal i 139; Koprili 735.

vi. *Zād 'l-tālibin* (زاد الطالبين): Bankipūr xiii 957 i.

vii. *Asrār u 'l-'arīfīn* (اسرار العارفين): Ibid 957 ii.

viii. *Ni'mu 'l-mi'yār wa 'l-miqyās li ma'rifat marātib 'n-nās* (نعم المعيار والمقياس لمعرفة مراتب الناس): Loth 696 ii.

ix. *Fathu 'l-Jawād* (فتح الجواد): Āṣafiyyah ii 1594.

C. *Tabyīnu 't-turuq* (تبیین الطرق): Tadhkirah 147.

15. *Qāḍī 'Isā** b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Gujarat (982/1574).

According to the *Nūr al-sāfir* he composed several works; but the titles of these works are not given.

*Please see No. 38 of this section also. Are these two authors the same person? Apparently not.

[1. Al-Nūr under the year 982. 2. Bānkīpār xiii 936.]

A. *Risālah fī jawāzi 's-samā'* (الرسالة في جواز السماء): Bri-Mus.

B. *Risālah fī 't-tawakkul* (الرسالة في التوكل): Bānkī-pūr xiii 936.

16. Muḥammad Māh Jawnpūrī (compiled in 986/1578).

[1. Tajallī 62, 2. Tadḥkirah 276]

B. *Al-manthūrah 'l-munazzamah* (المنثور المنظمة): Āṣafiyyah i 390.

17. *Ṣadru 's-ṣudūr Shaykh* 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Sh. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu 'l-Quddūs of Gangah (991/1583).

He was the tutor of the Emperor Akbar, and held the post of *Ṣadru 's-Ṣudūr* (chief justice). No *Ṣadr* during any former reign had so much favour. Akbar had such a regard for him that he would gladly put the *Shaykh's* shoes before him. At last, through the enmity of *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* 'Abd Allāh and others he fell in the Emperor's estimation, and began to be treated very differently. He was banished to Mecca, and after his return was murdered in 991/1583. In addition to the treatise, given below, he is said to have composed in Arabic another one refuting therein the adverse criticism, made by *Imām Qaffal Marwzī* *Shāfi'* against *Imām Abu Ḥanīfah*; but this work does not seem to be extant.

[1. Bada'unī iii 79, 2. Ma'a thir al-Umarā ii 56, 3. Beale 11, 4. Tadḥkirah 134.]

B. *Risālah dar waḏā'if wa ad'iyah* (رساله در وظائف و ادعیه): 'Aligarh p. 120 (an autograph copy).

18. Zaynu 'd-Din b. 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz al-Ma'bari (d. after 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, VIII.)

B. *Ir-hādū 'l-'ibād ilā sabīli 'r-raḥad* (ارشاد العباد الى سبيل الرشاد): Rāmpur 327.

19. Wajīhu 'd-Din 'Alawī Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IX.)

B. *Al-Haqīqatu 'l-Muḥammadiyah* (الحقيقة المحمدية): India Office 1381.

20. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as Miyānji (d. 1000/1591). *

This author is the son of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Miyānji† whom we have already known as the author of التفسير المصدي. He is a descendant of Kamālu 'd-Din who was a *Khalīfah* and a nephew (sister's son) of Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Din Maḥmad *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*.

[1. His own work *Marājīnu 'l-'ushshāq* (preface),
2. Brockelmann ii 420.]

B. i. *Nikātu 'l-ikhwān bi 'awn Allāhi 'l-maliki 'l-mannān* (نكات الاخوان بعون الله الملك المنان): Berlin 3105.

ii. *Marājīnu 'l-'ushshāq bayn abḥuri 'l-ashwāq* (مراجين العشاق بين ابصر الاشواق): Ibid 3106.

iii. *Al-Jam' bayna d-dunyā wa 'l-'uqbā bi 'ināyat Allāhi 'l-'ulyā* (الجمع بين الدنيا والعقبى بعناية الله العليا): Ibid 3145.

*According to Ahlwardt, the author of the Berlin Catalogue; but 1100/1688 according to Brockelmann, which date seems to be wrong as it is not likely that this author survived his father Muḥd. b. Aḥmad Miyānji who died in 982 (see section I No. 8) for about a century and a quarter.

†Refer to pp. 16 and 236 of this work.

- iv. *Risālah fī man 'arafa Allāh kalla lisānuh* (الرسالة في من عرف الله كل لسان): Ibid 3231; India Office 1412.
- v. *Jawāhiru 'l-'ulūm* (جواهر العلوم): Berlin 3232.
- vi. *Risālah fī bayāni 'l-jihādi 'l-akbar* (الرسالة في بيان الجهاد الأكبر): India Office 1412.
- vii. *Al-Hayrah fī dhāt Allāh* (الحيرة في ذات الله): Berlin 3233.
- viii. *Tuhfatu 's-sulūk al-mūsīlah ila Allāh Maliki 'l-mulūk* (تكملة السالك الموصى إلى الله الملك الملوك): Ibid 3285.
- ix. *Risālah fī 'l-awrād* (الرسالة في الأوراد): Ibid 7382.
- x. *Al-Muflis fī amān Allāh* (المفلس في إيمان الله): Ibid 3164.

21. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī (1004/1595).

[For other works of his, see sections I, IX.]

- A. *Mawāridu 'l-kilām wa silk durari 'l-hikam* (موارد الكلام وسلك درر الحكم): see Rampar p. 620.

MSS. Nur 'Uthmānī 3909; Rāghib Pashā 1483; Asad Efendī Āyā 2924; Vienna 354; Edinburgh 30; Miftāḥ 1339; Rampar 620; Bengal i 43; Peshāwar 1168; Āṣafīyyah ii 1212.

22. Sayyid Majdu 'd-Dīn, called *Shibhāt Allāh* b. S. Raḥ Allāh Ḥusaynī Barujī Gujarātī (1015/1606).

He was the pupil and *Khalīfah* of *Shaykh* Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Gujarātī. He was a scholar and a saint, and busied himself in spreading the esoteric and exoteric education

in Gujarāt and Mālwah and twice went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah. He at last settled at the latter place where he died in 1015/1606).

- [1. *Ṭabaqāt* f. 263, 2. *Ma'āthir* 40, 3. *Subḥah* 46, 4. *Muḥibbī* ii 243, 5. *Abjad* 898, 6. *Ḥadā'iq* 401, 7. *Tadhkirah* 91, 8. *Āzād* 26.]

B. *Ta'rib al-Jawāhir al-Khamsah li Muḥd. b. Khaṭir al-Dīn* known as *Ghawṭh* of Gwalior (تعريب الجواهر الخمسة لمحمد خطير الدين المعروف بغوث) : Loth 671-2; Paris 1197; Cairo ii 78; Berlin; Rāmpur 334; Bengal A. f. 7.

C. i. *Kitābu 'l-Wahdat* (كتاب الوحدة): *Ma'āthir*, *Muḥibbī* etc.

ii. *Ir'ātu 'd-daqa'iq fi sharḥ mir'āti 'l-ḥaqā'iq* (إدانة الدقائق في شرح مرآة الحقائق): Ibid.

iii. *Mā lā yasa' li 'l-murīd tarkuhū kulla yawm min sunani 'l-qawm* (ما لا يسمح للمريد تركه كل يوم من سنن القوم): *Abjad* 898.

23. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Uṭmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): *Tadhkirah* 135.

ii. *Jawāhiru 'l-asrar sharḥu 'l-latīfati 'l-ghaybiyyah* (جواهر الاسرار شرح اللطيفة الغيبية): Ibid.

iii. *Maqāmātu 'l-'arifīn* (مقامات العارفين): Ibid.

iv. *Al-Futūḥatu 'l-ghaybiyyah* (التفوحات الغيبية): Ibid.

- v. *Dastūru 's-sa'ādah fī bayāni 'l-walayah*
(دستور السعادة في بيان الولايات): Ibid.
- vi. *Fayḍu 'l-Quddūs muntakhab Naqdi 'n-Nuṣūṣ* (فيض القدوس منتخب نقد النصوص): Ibid.
- vii. *Ḥaṣṣiyah 'alā Naqdi 'n-Nuṣūṣ* (حاشية على نقد النصوص): Ibid.
- viii. *Jawāmi' kalim al-ṣūfi* (دوامع كلام الصوفي): Ibid.
- ix. *Sharḥ Jawāhir khumsah* (شرح جواهر خمسة): Ibid.
- x. *Fawātiḥu 'l-anwār* (فواتح الانوار): Ibid.
- xi. *Fayḍu 'l-maliki 'l-mubīn fī sharḥ Haqqi 'l-yaqīn* (فيض الملك المبين في شرح حق اليقين): Ibid.
- xii. *Maṭālī'u 'l-anwārī 'l-khaṣiyy sharḥ Ajwibati 'l-waliyy* (مطالع الانوار الخفية شرح اجوبة الولي): Ibid.

24. Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī (1029/1619).

He was a disciple of Shaykh Wajihu 'd-Dīn 'Alawī Aḥmadabādī (d. 998/1589), and was the pupil of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Khaṭṭru 'd-Dīn Ḥusaynī, commonly called al-Ghawṭh, the author of الجواهر الخمسة.

[1. Ṭabaqāt f. 265 b, 2. Muḥibbī iv 110, 3. Brockelmann ii 418.]

- B. *Al-Tuḥfatu 'l-Mursalāh ila 'n-nabiyy* (التحفة المرسلة إلى النبي): Berlin 2040; Rien 245 xii; India Office 1383; Rampur 332, Bengal ii 55; Āṣafiyyah i 362; Stewart p. 47.

25. Shaykh Aḥmad Sarhindī b. Sh. 'Abu 'l-Aḥad al-Faruqī, entitled *Mujaddid-i-alfi-thānī* (1034/1624).

He is one of the greatest Muslim saints that India has ever produced. He was born at Sarhind in 971/1563. He completed his education under Kamālu 'd-Dīn Kashmīrī, Ya'qub 'Kashmīrī and 'Abdu r-Rahmān *Muhaddith*. Then he went to Delhi where he became the disciple of Khwajah Baqī bi Allāh, a celebrated saint of Delhi, and soon his reputation as a great saint rose very high. As he infused a new life in the Muslims of the second Millennium, he is rightly called *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī*.

[1. *Ṭabaqāt* b 267, 2. *Zubdatu 'l-maqamāt* (a most authentic biography of the saint), 3. *Subḥah* 47, 4. *Abjad* 898, 5. *Ḥadā'iq* 404, 6. *Khazīnatu 's-safā'* 607, 7. *Beale* 42, 8. *Tadhkirah* 10, 9. *Qāmus* i 67.]

(For another work of his, see section V.)

C. *Ta'liqātu 'l-'Awārif* (تعليقات العوارف): *Tadhkirah* 12.

26. Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydārūs Aḥmadabādī (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VIII, X.)

A. *Ta'rīfu 'l-ahyā' bi fadā'il 'l-iḥyā'* (تعريف الأحياء بفضائل الإحياء): Printed on the margin of *Intikāf al-sādā' al-muqīn li-murṭa'ī al-zaydī* in Egypt. MS. Berlin 1713

B. i. *Rūḥu 'r-rāḥ wa rūḥu 'l-arwāḥ* (روح الراح وروح الأرواح): Buhār 126.

ii. *Al-Maqālatu 'n-nāfi'ah wa 'r-risālatu 'l-jāmi'ah* (المقالة النافعة والرسالة الجامعة): Ibid. 457 i.

iii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-jāmi' fī bayāni 'l-'ilmi 'n-nāfi'* (القول الجامع في بيان العلم النافع): Ibid. 457 ii.

- iv. *Bughyatu 'l-mustafid bi sharh Tuhfati 'l-murid* (بغية المستفيد بشرح تحفة المريد): Ibid. 457 iii.
- v. *Al-Zahru 'l-bāsim* (الزهر الباسم): Berlin 3337.
- vi. *Asbāhu 'n-najāt wa 'n-najāh fī adhikāri 'l-musā' wa 's-sabāh* (اسباب النجاة و النجاح في اذكار المساء و الصباح): Ibid. 3718.
- vii. *Ghāyatu 'l-qarab fī sharh nihāyati 'l-talab* (غاية القرب في شرح نهاية الطلب): Ibid. 3421.
- viii. *Nafā'isu 'l-anfās fī nisbatu 'l-khirqah wa 'l-ilbās* (نفائس الانفاس في نسبة الخرقه و الالباس): India Office 1388.
- ix. *Al-Durru 'l-yatīm fī bayāni 'l-muhimm min 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (الدر اليتيم في بيان المهم من العلوم الدين): Berlin 1844.
- x. *Šūfiistic Muwaššah* (موشح): Ibid. 3422.
- xi. *Šūfiistic Rajaz* (رجز): Ibid. 8161 i.
- C. i. *Al-Futūḥātu 'l-quddūsiyyah fī 'l-khirqati 'l-'Aydārūsiyyah* (الفتوحات القدوسيه في الخرقه العيدروسيه): his autobiography
- ii. *Al-Rawḍu 'l-'arīḍ wa 'l-fayḍu 'l-mustafīḍ* (الروض العريض و الفيض المستفيض): Ibid.

27. Shaykh al-ḥajj 'Abdu 'l-Karīm Laharī Anṣārī
b. Sh. Maḥdumu 'l-mulk 'Abd Allāh (1041/1635).*

He was a scholar and a saint. He performed the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz in company of his father when

*According to Brockelmann he died in 1060/1651.

he was banished from India by the Emperor Akbar. When his father died of poison, he went to Lahore and engaged himself in the spiritual uplift of the people. He wrote in Persian a commentary on the *Fuṣṣu 'l-hikam*.

- [1. Khazinat 's-safā' 470, 2 Tadhkirah 131, 3. Brockelmann ii. 420.]

B. i. *Risālah fi 't-Tasawwuf* (الرسالة في التصوف): Āsafiyyah i 366.

ii. *Wasiyyah* (وصية): Berlin 4018.

iii. *Muntahā maṭālib al-sālikin* (منتهى مطالب السالكين): Ibid. 3108.

iv. *'Aqā'idu 'l-muwahhidin* (عقائد الموحدين): Ibid. 1848.

28. Taju 'd-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Sulṭān al Hindī (1050/1640).

He was an eminent *Shāfi* scholar of India, who settled permanently at Mecca where his reputation as a great *Shāfi* spread far and wide. While in India, he received education at Ajmer, Jawnpur, Nāgūr and Kashmīr. He was first introduced to the Chishtiyyah Order by Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Nāgūrī (d. 985/1577); but afterwards he was admitted to the Naqshbandiyyah Order by Bāqī Billāh. Soon after the completion of his spiritual training, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he died in 1050/1640, leaving behind a large number of disciples.

- [1. Muḥibbī i 474, 2. Brockelmann ii 419, 3. Tadhkirah 35, 4. Bānkīpur xiii 942.]

B. i. *Ādābu 'l-murīdin* (آداب المريدین): Berlin 3198; Cairo vii 312; Bengal e. l.

ii. *Risālah fī sulūk khulāṣati 's-sādāti 'l-naqshbandiyyati 's-siddiqiyyah* (الرسالة في سلوك خلاصة السادات النقيشبندية السديقية): Cairo vii 312 ; Berlin 2186 ; Loth 1038 ; Bankipur xiii 942 ; India Office 1404.

iii. *Ta'rib Rashhāti 'ayni 'l-hayāt* (تعريب رشحات عين الحياة) : Cairo ii 75.

iv. *Tarīb Naḥḥātī 'l-uns min haḍarātī 'l-quds*.
(تعريب نهجات النفس من حضرات القدس):
Ibid.

C. *Jāmi'u 'l-fawā'id* (جامع الفوائد): Muḥibbi i 474.

29. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqi of Delhi (1052/1642).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, V, VI, VIII.)

A. *Zubdatu 'l-asrār wa zubdātu 'l-āthār* (زبدة الأسرار و زبدة الآثار): Āṣafiyyah i 370.

B. i. *Risālah fī Bayān qawl qadīmī hāditha 'alā raqabati kullī waliyy Allāh* (الرسالة في بيان قول قديمي حديثه على رقبة كل ولي الله): Rāmpur 339.

ii. *Duḥātīr* (دحاتير): Ibid. 149.

30. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

(For other works of his see sections I, VI.)

A. *Al-Taswīyah* (التسوية): MSS. Bengal i 191; in the possession of the present representative of his family at Allahabad.

B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): Ibid.

- ii. *Anfāsu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (انفاس الخواص)*: Rampur 329; India Office 1279; Bānkīpur xiii 883.
- iii. *Akḥṣṣu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (اخص الخواص): Rampur 322.
- iv. *Maghlāḥiṭu 'l-ʿāmmah* (مغلاطه العامه): Rampur 366; India Office 1395.
- v. *ʿAqāʾidu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (عقائد الخواص) : Nadhīr Aḥmad 30; India Office 1392.

31. Sayyid Aḥmad Gisu-darāz b. Sayyid Muḥammad of Kalpī (1058/1648).

He was a disciple of his father and was well versed in both secular and spiritual learning.

[Tadhkirah 81.]

C. *Jawāmiʿu 'l-kalim fi Sharḥi 'l-asnāʾi 'l-ḥusnā* (جوامع الكلم في شرح الاسماء الحسنی): Ibid.

32. Mullā Maḥmad b. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Shāh Muḥammad al-Fāruqī of Jawnpur (1062/1651).

First he received education from his grandfather Shāh Muḥammad. Then he studied under Muḥammad Afḍal Jawnpurī and soon became a source of pride to his teacher. He was chiefly interested in Philosophy.

[1. Maʿāthir 202, 2. Subḥah 53, 3. Abjad 901, 4. Ārāʾish-i-maḥfil 92, 5. Tajallī 48, 6. Ḥadāʾiq 413,

*This work is not a commentary on the same author's own abridgment of the *Fusus* 'l-ḥikam as mentioned in the Bankipur Catalogue xiii under No. 883 and also in the India Office Catalogue under No. 1279. The present author has compared it with the *Fusus* and has found both of them altogether different works.

7. Maḥbūb 387, 8. Taḥkirah 22, 9. Brockelmann ii 420, 10. Beale, 232 11. Āzād, 22, 112. Qāmus ii 206.)

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. *Ḥirzu 'l-īmān fi radd kitāb 'al-Taṣwīyah* (حرز الإيمان في رد كتاب التصويّة): Rāmpur 335.

33. *Mullā 'Iṣmat Allāh b. A'zam¹ b. 'Abdu' r-Rasul* of Sahāranpur (after 1090/1679.)²

He, though blind, was an eminent scholar of his age, was chiefly interested in mathematics and astronomy and has several works to his credit.

[1. Ma'āmir 205, 2. Subḥah 52, 3. Abjad 90, 4. Ḥada'iq 407, 5. Beale 83, 6. Taḥkirah 140, 7. Maḥbūb 177, 8. Āzād 31, 9. Qāmūs ii 85.]

(For other works of his, see sections VII, IX.)

B. *Jaddu 'l-ghinā' fi ḥurmati 'l-ghinā'* (جد الغناء في حرمة الغناء):³ Āṣafiyyah ii 1084; India Office 1855, where the title is not mentioned.

34. Muḥammad b. Sayyid Muḥammad al-Gada'i al-Qannawjī al-Rasūldār (in the 11th century A. H.)

His father was one of the teachers of Awrangzib (1068-1118/1658-1707).

[Bānkipur 946.]

B. *Risālah fi 't-Taṣawwuf* (الرسالة في التصوف): Ibid.

35. Saḍru' d-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ma'ṣūm, commonly called Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm al-Madani (1117/1705).

For a short account of his, refer to p. 158.

1. It may be 'Azmat Allāh (عظمة الله).

2. Regarding this date, refer to the footnote on p. 88 of this work.

3. The word is *Jadd* and not *hadd*, refer to p. 88.

- [1. 'Amalu 'l-āmil 51, 2. Rawḍatu 'l-jannāt 421, 3. Subḥah 85, 4. Nujūm 176, 5. Wüstenfeld No. 589, 6. Rieu (Arabic) No. 990, 7. Brockelmann ii. 421, 8. Buhār No. 72, 9. Āzād 49, 10. Tadhkirah-i-bi-bahā 417.

(For other works of his, see sections VIII, IX.)

- A. *Sharḥ Ṣiḥāfah-i-Sajjādiyyah*, entitled *Riyyāṭ al-sālikin* (شرح صفيّة سجادية الموسوم برياض السالكين): lithographed in Persia. MSS. Āṣafiyyah iii 20; Buhār 72.

36. Muḥammad Afdal of Allahabad (1124/1712).

Born at Sayyidpur (in district Ghāzipur) in 1038. He started his education under Mullā Nuru'd-Dīn. Then he left for Kālpi where he became a disciple of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad. Afterwards he settled at Allahabad. He composed several works.

[Tadhkirah 181.]

- B. *Fawzu 'n-najāt 'ani 'l-khidhlān bi ma'ūnati taḥqīqāt ahli 'l- 'irfān* (فوز النجاة عن الخذلان بمعونته): 'Aligarh 117.

- C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): Tadhkirah 18.

- ii. *Fathu 'l-ighlāq* (فتح الإغلاق): Ibid

37. 'Azīz Allāh b Muḥammad Murād Anṣārī (in the time of Farrukh-siyar—1126-1131/1714-1718).

- B. *Al-Thawāqibu 's-sab'ah* (الذواقب السبعة): Delhi 339.

38. Shaykh Muḥammad Isā* b. al-Karīm al-Sindī al-Burhānpurī (compiled in 1137/1725).

[See India Office 1856.]

*Please see No. 15 of this section also. Are these two authors the same person? Apparently not.

- B. *Risālah fī Ikhtilāf ḥurmati 's-samā' wa 'l-ghāna'* (الرسالة في اختلاف حرمة السماء والغناء) : India Office 1856 and 1858¹.

39. Abu l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l Hādī al-Sindī (1138/1725).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III.)

- B. *Al-Futūḥāt al-nabawīyah* (الفتوحات النبوية) : Bengal i 739.

40. Mullā 'Alī Aṣḥar Qannawjī (1140/1727).

(For other works of his, see sections I, XI.)

- B. *Jawāmi'u l-kilām fī sharḥ Buṣṣi 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلام في شرح بصوص الحكم) : India Office 1278.

- C. i. *Tabṣīratu 'l-madārij* (تبصرة المدارج) : Tadhkirah 140.

- ii. *Al-Lulā'ifu 'l-'aliyyah fī 'l-ma'ārif 'l-'ilāhiyyah* (اللطائف العلية في المعارف الإلهية) : Ibid.

41. Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (1143/1730)²

His ancestors were masons, but he engaged himself in the spiritual pursuits. After completing his education in India, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madinah where he became a disciple of Shaykh Yahyā Madanī. Then he returned to India and settled at Delhi. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Qur'ān*.

[1. Mā 'aṭhir 42, 2. Ḥadāiq 438, 3. Tadhkirah 172.]

1. According to the India Office Catalogue, MSS. Nos 1856 and 1858 are different works by different authors; but it is wrong, as the introductions of both the treatises, given in the Catalogue are almost identical with each other. Moreover, the present writer personally saw both the MSS. at the India Office Library and found them exactly the one and the same.

2. According to the Tadhkirah 1140/1727.

(For another work of his, see section VII.)

B. *Sawā'u 's-sabīl* (سواء السبيل): Rāmpur 345.

42. *Shāh Khub Allāh* of Allāhabad (1144/1731).

(For other works of his, refer to sections III, V.)

C. i. *Al-Kalāmu 'l-mufīd fī mā yat'allāqu bi 'sh-shaykh wa 'l-murīd* (اللام المفيد في ما يتعلق بالشيخ و murid): Tadhkirah 59.

ii. *Al-Kalimatu 'l-mu'talifah fī 'l-maqāsidi 'l-mukhtalifah* (الكلمة المؤتلفة في المقاصد المختلفة): Ibid.

iii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-ā'māl* (خلاصة الاعمال): Ibid.

43. *Nūru 'd-Dīn Aḥmadābādī* (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, VI, IX.)

C. *Tarīqatu 'l-unam fī sharḥ 'Fusūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (طريقة الامم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Tadhkirah 245.

44. A certain scholar dedicated to Nawwāb Anwaru 'd-Dīn Khān of Carnatic (d. 1162/ 1748).

B. *Jawāmi'u 'l-kalīm fī sharḥ Fusūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Loth 651.

45. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (1163/1749).

(For other works of his, see section II.)

C. *Sharḥ al-Ḥikami 'l-ʿaṭā'iyyah* (شرح الحكم العطائية): Muḥibbī iv 34.

46. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called *Shāh Walī Allāh* of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, X, XI.)

- A. i. *Fuyūdu 'l-haramayn* (فيض الحرمين) : MS. Rāmpūr 356.
- ii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-jamil fī sawā'i 's-sabīl* (القول الجميل في سواء السبيل) : MSS. Berlin 3396; Rāmpūr 357; Āṣafiyyah i 380.
- iii. *Al-Taḥḥīmātu 'l-ilāhiyyah* (التفهيمات الإلهية)*.
- iv. *Al-Intibāh fī salāsil awliyā' Allāh* (الانتباه في سلاسل أولياء الله).
- B. i. *Risūlah fī mas'ilah Waḥdat 'l-wujūd* (رسالة في مسألة وحدة الوجود) : Rāmpūr 343; Nadwah 397.
- ii. *Al-Budūru 'l-bāziḡah* (البدور البازغة) : Āṣafiyyah iv 172.

47. 'Alīm Allāh of Lahore (1176/1762).

[Murādī iii 260.]

- B. *Al-Futūḥātu 'l-unsīyyah fī taḥqīqātī 'r-rumūzi 's-sūfiyyah* (الفتوحات الانسية في تحقیقات الرموز الصوفية) : Qilij 'Alī 617.

48. Muḥammad Panāh of Aḥmadābād (composed in 1180/1766).

- B. *Naṣīḥat 'Ibād Allāh wa ummati rasūl Allāh* (نصيحة عباد الله و أمته رسول الله) : India Office 1862.

49. Qamaru 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Munīb Allāh of Awrangābād (1193/1779).

Born in 1120/1708, he completed his education under the eminent scholars of the country and was introduced by his father into the Naqshbandiyyah Order. Then he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah. He died at Awrangābād.

*Some parts of this work are in Persian.

[1. Subḥah 101, 2. Abjad 919, 3. Ḥadā'iq 452, 4. Taḍḥkirah 170, 5. Āzād 63.]

B. i. *Mazharu 'n-nūr* (مظهر النور): Āṣafiyyah i. 388.

ii. *Risālah fi taḥqīqi 'l-wujūd* (الرسالة في تحقيق الوجود): Rāmpūr 340.

50. Ṣufī b. Jawhar al-Jhanjhānī (in the 12th century).

Nothing concerning him seems to be known except that he was a resident of Jhanjhāna and that he was a scholar of the 12th century.

[See Bānkīpur 998 I.]

B. *Al-Talwihātu 's-ṣūfiyyah* (التأويحات الصوفية): Ibid.

51. Amīr Allāh b. Munīr Allāh al-Bihārī (in the 12th century).

Concerning him, nothing seems to be known except that he is the author of the two undermentioned works, the former of which he dedicated to Khān-i-dawrān Bahādur Shamsu 'd-Dawlah, who was Amīru 'l-umarā' at the court of the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shah, and was killed in 1151/1738.

[See India Office 1403.]

B. *Taḥlīl mu'ḍilāt Ibn al-'Arabī* (تحليل معضلات ابن العربي): Ibid.

C. *Ashī 'ah rabbāniyyah fī tazwīq waḥdati 'l-wujūd* (اشعة ربانية في تزويق وحدة الوجود): Ibid.

52. Sayyid Nuru 'l-Hudā b. Sayyid Qamaru 'd-Dīn Awrangabādī (born in 1153/1740).

He was a pupil and disciple of his own father. He accompanied his father when he went on the pilgrimage to the Hijaz.

[*Tadhkirah* 246.]

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mazhari 'n-nūr* (حاشية علي منظر): *Āṣafiyyah* i 388.

53. *Shah Ghulām Yahya* (12th century).

He was a disciple of *Mirzā Jan-jānān* (d. 1195/1781).

B. *Wahdatu 'l-wujūd* (وحدة الوجود): *Nadwah* 398.

54. *Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd. b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq* known as *Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Hindī* (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VIII, IX.)

A. i. *Ithāfu 's-sādātī 'l-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ Iḥyā' 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (اتصاف السادات المتقين (بشرح احياء علوم الدين): Bri. Mus. MS. Munich 150.

ii. *Al-Nafḥatu 'l-quddūsiyyah li-wasīlah bid'ati 'l-'aydarūsiyyah* (النفحة القدوسية (لواسطة بضة العيدروسية): * see Ma'ārif A'zamgarh for March 1927, pp. 168-175.

55. *Shaykh Salām Allāh b. Shaykh 'l-Islām Ram-purī* (1229/1813).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

A. *Kashfu 'l-qinā' 'an ibāḥati 's-samā'* (كشف القناع (عن إباحة السماء): Bri. Mus.

MS. India Office 1857.

*It has been translated into Urdu 'by Sayyid Manazir Ahsan Gilani (منظر احسن گیلانی).

56. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Bahru 'l-'ulam of Lucknow (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, refer to sections II, III, V, VI, VII.)

B. i. *Sharḥ al-Faṣṣi 'n-Nūḥi min Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (شرح النص النوحى من فصوص الحكم): Rāmpur 348.

ii. *Risālah al-Ṣughrā* (رسالة الصغرى): Ibid. 342.

57. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1828).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VI VIII, X, XI.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Qawli 'l-jamīl* (حاشية على القول الجميل): Rāmpur 340.

58. Khwajah Sayyid Āl-i-Aḥmad Shāh b. Quṭb al-Awliyā' (1259/1843).

C. *Al-Bunyānu 'l marṣūs fi sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (البنیان المروص فى شرح فصوص الحكم): Ḥayātu 'l-'ulamā' pp. 22-23.

59. Shāh Aḥmad Sa'īd Mujaddidī b. Shāh Abu Sa'īd mujaddidī (1272/1855).

Born in 1217/1802, he was a pupil of Mawlawī Faḍl-i-Imām, muftī Sharafu 'd-Dīn and Rāshīdu 'd-Dīn, and a disciple of Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Mujaddidī. During the mutiny of 1857 he went with his family on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah where he settled.

[*Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā'* 709]

B. i. *Risālah fi 't-taṣawwuf* (الرسالة فى التصوف): Rāmpur 340.

ii. *Al-Fawa'idu 'l-dābiṭah fi ithbātī 'r-rābiṭah* (الفوائد الدابطة فى اثبات الرابطة): Ibid 356.

9. Shāh. 'Abdu'r-Rasūl b. Muḥammad Khān Bijā-purī.

- B. i. *Al-Irshād fi sulūki 'l-tarīq wa l-wuṣūl ilā 'ālamī 's-sadād* (الإرشاد في سلوك الطريق و) (الوصول إلى عالم السداد) : India Office 1414.
- ii. *Tabṣīrah* (تبصرة) : Ibid. 1415.
- iii. *Sharḥ Tabṣīrah* (شرح تبصرة) : Ibid. 1916.
- iv. *Rawḍatu 'l-anwār* (روضة الأنوار) : Buhār 134.

10. Muḥammad¹ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī.

- B. i. *Kitāb Hukmī 'sh-shawārid* (كتاب حكم) (العوارد) : 'Āshūr 492.
- ii. *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (كتاب التوحيد) : Nadwah 99.

11. Ibrāhīm b. Abi Zayd al-Sindī.

- B. *Irshādu 'l-mulūk li sadādi 's-sulūk* (إرشاد) (الملوك لسداد السالك) : Āyā Ṣūfiyāh 2842.

12. 'Abd Allāh Multānī.³

Risālah fi 't-taṣawwuf (الرسالة في التصوف) : Delhi 1881.

13. Fāḍil b. 'Ārif al-Dihlawī al-Safidānī.

- B. *Al-Jawāhiru 'l-muḥīṭah fi ḥilyati Khayri 'l-bariyyah* (الجواهر المضيئة في حلية خير البرية) : (a Prayer for the Prophet, mentioning all his bodily and mental qualities): Loth 366.

1. He may be the brother of رحمة الله بن عبد الله سندى who died in 993/1585 (see No. 23 of the section on *Fiqh* literature).

2. In the Catalogue this work is mentioned under تصوف.

3. He may be رحمة الله سندى, father of عبد الله سندى (d. 993/1583).

SECTION V

DOGMA, SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY AND MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS TOPICS

1. Ṣafīyyu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Raḥīm b. Muḥammad
'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm al-Hindī (715/1315).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

- C. *Al-Zubdah fi 'ilmi 'l-Kalām* (الزبدۃ فی علم الکلام):
Abjad 806.

2. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq al-
Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III,
IV, IX.)

- B. *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Taḥwīziyyah* (شرح العقائد
التحویزیة): Cairo ii 30 ; Mihrshāh 294.

3. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'īmī (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III,
IV.)

- B. *Al-Daw'u 'l-azhar fī sharḥi 'l-nūr 'l-azhar
fī kashfi 'l-qadā' wa 'l-qadar* * (الدعوة الاظهر فی
شرح النور الازهر فی كشف القضاة و القدر): Delhi 944.

4. Qādī Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar
Zāwulī Dawlatabadī (849/1445).

* Both the text and the commentary have been, by an oversight, mentioned also under C. No. 7 of the previous section. (See page 296 *Supra*). There is a little difference about the spelling of the word *الاظهر* also. In the Delhi MS. it is with ط, while it is with ظ according to the Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Bombay University, p. 181. I think the former spelling is correct.

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX, X.)

B. *Al-'Aqā'idu 'l-Islāmiyyah* (العقائد الإسلامية): Rāmpur 314.

5. *Khaṭīb Abu 'l-Faḍl Gāzrunī Gujarātī* (959/1551).
(For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية على شرح المواقف): Peshāwar 856.

6. *Mullā 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn b. Shaykh Mansūr of Lahore* (969/1561).

He was a scholar, first attached to *Khān-Khānān* and then to the court of Akbar himself.

[*Tadhkirah* 141.]

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'id* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد): Ibid.

7. *Makhdūmu 'l-mulk 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpurī* (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *'Iṣmatu 'l-anbiyā'* (عصمة الأنبياء): Bānkīpur x 569.

C. *Kashfu 'l-ghummah** (كشف الغمة): Ḥadā'iq 397.

8. *Qāḍī Nizām Badakhshī* (992/1584).

A pupil of 'Iṣāmu 'd-Dīn and *Mullā Sa'id*, he was an eminent scholar of Badakhshān. Coming to India in 982/1574, he joined the service of Akbar, the great, who conferred upon him first the title of *Qāḍī Khān* and then *Ghāzī Khān*.

*According to the *Tadhkirah* (p. 26), it is by Ilah-dad Khan Sulṭānpurī (الهداد خان سلطان پوری).

[Tadhkirah 242.]

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'id* (الهاشيه على العقائد شرح): Tadhkirah 242.

ii. *Risālah fī 'Ilmi 'l-Kalām* (الرساله في علم الكلام): Ibid.

9. Wajibu 'd-Din 'Alawī of Gujarāt (998-1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 't-Tajrīd* (الهاشيه على التجريد): Tadhkirah 250.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'id li 't-Taftāzānī* (الهاشيه على شرح العقائد للفتاواني): Ibid.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الهاشيه على الهاشيه القديمه): Ibid.

10. Ilāh-dad Khān of Sulṭānpur (1006/1597).

He was a pupil of *Makhdūmu 'l-mulk* 'Abd Allah Sulṭānpurī. He held the posts of *ṣadr* and *qāḍī* in the Punjab and at Allahabad respectively during the reign of Akbar, the great.

[1. Badā'unī iii 117, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 215 b, 3. Tadhkirah 26.]

C. *Kaṣḥfu 'l-ghummah* (كشف الغمه):* Tadhkirah 26.

11. Qāḍī Nur Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf Shuṣṭrī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, VI, IX.)

* According to the حدائق (p. 397) the author of this work is 'Abd Allah of Sulṭānpur.

- B. i.** *Iḥqāqu l-ḥaqq wa ibtālū 'l-bāṭil* (إحقاق الحق و إبطال الباطل) : Buhār 115 ; Bānkīpur 623; Bengal A. E. I; Rāmpur 281.
- ii.** *Maṣā'ibu 'n-nawāṣib* (مصابب النواصب) : Āṣa-fīyyah 1326; Buhār 114.
- iii.** *Al-Sawārimu 'l-muḥriqah* (الصورم المحرقة) : Buhār 112.
- iv.** *Muḥākamāt* (محاكمات) : 'Aligarh 112.
- C. i.** *Unsu 't-tawḥīd* (انس التوحيد) : Kashfu 'l-ḥujub.
- ii.** *Hāshiyatu 'l-annmūdḥaj* (حاشية الانمودج) : Ibid.
- iii.** *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiya-ti 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية القديمة) : Ibid.
- iv.** *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 't-Tajrīd* (الحاشية على شرح التجريد) : Ibid.
- v.** *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية على شرح المواقف) : Ibid.
- vi.** *Risālah fī ann 'l-wujūd lā mithla lahū* (الرساله في ان الوجود لا مثل له) : Ibid.
- vii.** *Risālah fī ḥaqīqati 'l-ṣmah* (الرساله في حقيقه الصمه) : Ibid.
- viii.** *Risālah fī raddi riṣālati 'd-Dawwāni fī imān fir'awn* (الرساله في رد رساله الدواني في ايمان فرعون) : Ibid.
- ix.** *Raf'u 'l-qadar* (رفع القدر) : Ibid.
- x.** *Al-Laṭā'if* (اللطائف) : Ibid.
- xi.** *Mwā'idu 'l-in'ām* (موائد الانعام) : Ibid.

xii. *Al-Nazaru 's-salīm* (النظر السليم): Ibid.

xiii. *Al-Nūru 'l-anwar wa 'n-nawru 'l-azhar*
(النور الانوار والنور الازهر): Ibid.

12. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uḥmānī,
called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV,
VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sawāṭi'u 'l-ilhām, sharḥ Tahdhībī 'l-*
kalām (سواطع الالهام شرح تهذيب الكلام): Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Risālah fī imān fir'awn* (الرسالة في ايمان فرعون): Ibid.

iii. *Nāsikhū 't-tanāsukh* (ناسخ التناسخ): Ibid.

13. Shaykh Aḥmad Sarhindī *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī*
(1034/1624).

(For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Risālah fī ithbātī 'n-nubuwwah* (الرسالة في اثبات النبوة): Delhi 113/C.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'l-Jalālī*
(الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالية): Tadhkirah 12.

14. Abu Bakr Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-
'Aydarūs (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV,
VIII, X.)

B. i. *Al-'Itiqādiyyah* (الاعتقادية): Bahār 454.

ii. *Kitābu 'l-minhāj ila ma'rifati 'l-mi'rāj*
(كتاب المنهاج الى معرفة المعراج): Berlin 2609.

iii. *Ṣaṭwatu 'l-ṣaṭwah fī bayān aḥkāmī 'l-qahwah* (صفوة الصفوة في بيان احكام القهوة): Ibid. 5479.

iv. *Al-Durru 'th-thamān fī bayāni 'l-muhīm min 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (الدر الثمين في بيان المهم من علوم الدين):* Buhār 453 i.

15. *Shaykh* 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (1052/1642).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, VI, VII.)

B. i. *Fathu 'l-mannān fī madhhabī 'n-Nu'mān* (فتح المنان في مذهب النعمان): Āṣaḥfiyyah ii 1320.

ii. *Al-Fawā'id* (الفوائد): Miftāḥ 2783.

16. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkatī (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI, IX.)

A. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥaṣḥiyah al-Khayālī 'alā sharḥ Taftāzānī 'ala 'l-'Aqā'idī 'n-Naṣaḥfiyyah* (الحاشية على حاشية الخيال على شرح (تفتازاني على العقائد النسفية):

MSS. Loth 397-8; Gotha 675; Buhār 107; Nadwah 90; Āṣaḥfiyyah ii 1298; Bankīpur 509; Bengal i 298; Bengal A.E. 21; Cairo ii 18; Peshāwar 811; Constantinople (in several libraries).

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالية):

* The same work with a little difference in the title has been also mentioned in the previous section under No. 26. (see p. 305).

MSS. Bengal A. E. 20; Salimiyyah 345; Lālah I 2202; Jāmi' Sharifi 405; Sulaymāniyyah 750; As'ad Efendi madrasah 26; Qilij 519; Āṣafiyyah ii 1300; Bengal I 308; Bānkīpūr 554; Rāmpūr Nos. 111-13.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-Mawāqif* (حاشية على شرح المواقف): see Mu'jam 680.

MSS. Loth 449; Nūr 'Uthmānī 2131; Bānkīpūr 538-9; Lālah I 2224; Walī al-Dīn 2014; Āṣafiyyah ii 1300; iv 538. Nadwah 99.

B. i. *Risālah Khāqāniyyah*, also called *al-Durru 'th-thamēn fī iḥbāt 'ilm wājib* الرسالة الخاقانية الموسومة بالدر الثمين (في إثبات علم واجب تعالى): Berlin 2344; Bengal II 42; Delhi 1877.

ii. *Zubdatu 'l-afkār* (زبدة الأفكار): see Brockelmann ii 417.

17. *Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin* (1081/1670).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known.

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-'Aqā'id* (حاشية على شرح العقائد):

18. *Mullā Hasan b. Mullā Husayn* of Madras (1082/1671).

B. *Raddu 'l-mukābirah* (رد المكابرة): Āṣafiyyah ii 1304.

19. 'Abdu 'l-Bāqī b. *Ghawth* al-Islām al-Ṣiddīqī of Jawnpūr (1084/1673).

He was a well known scholar of Jawnpūr who studied under *Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī* (d. 1062/1651).

[1. Farḥat, 2. Tajallī 65, 3. Maḥbūb 18, 4. Tadhkirah 268.]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Sharḥ Kalimāti 't-tawḥīd* (شرح كلمات التوحيد): Miftāḥ 2591/2.

20. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Kallū of Kaśmīr (1100/1688).

A pupil of Khwājah Ḥaydar Charkhī, he was an eminent scholar of Kaśmīr well-versed in scholastic theology.

[1. Ḥada'iq 425, 2. Tadhkirah 6.]

C. *Sayfu 's-sābbīn* (سيف السابین): Ibid.

21. Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid b. Qāḍī Muḥammad Aṣlam al-Harwī al-Kābulī al-Hindī (1101/1689).

(For other works of his, see sections 1, VI.)

A. *Ḥaṣṣiyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah min sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (حاشية على الأمور العامة من شرح المواقف):

MSS. Buhār 98 ; Loth 451-2, Bānkīpur 540-2 ;
Āṣafiyyah ii 1302, IV 835 ; 'Aligarh 110 ;
Bengal I 322 ; Bengal, A. E. 26 ; Rāmpur.

22. *Mullā* Quṭbu 'd-Dīn al-*shahīd* b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥalīm b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm Sihālawī (1103/1691).

He was a descendant of Ayyub Anṣārī, a pupil of *Mullā* Danyāl (the pupil of *Mullā* 'Abdu 's-Salām of Dewah) and a disciple of Qāḍī Ghāṣī who was one of the spiritual successors of Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad. He was well versed in all the branches of the Islāmic learning. Besides works mentioned below, he wrote glosses (حواشي) on the *Talwīḥ* (التلويح), the *Tafri'āt al-Bazdawī* (تفريعات البزدوي), the *Muṭawwal* and the *sharḥ Hikmatī 'l-'ayn* (شرح حكمة العين): He is also the author of *al-Risālah fi taḥqīq dāri 'l-ḥarb* (الرسالة في تحقيق دار الحرب).

[1. Ma'āthir 209, 2. Subḥah 79, 3. Abjad 904, 4. Ḥada'iq 429, 5. Tadhkirah 168, 6. Āzad 41, 7. Faranqī. 8. Ātharu 'l-uwal 4.]

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'd-Dawwānī* (الكاشية علي شرح العقائد الدواني): *Āthāru 'l-uwal* 4.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-'Aqā'idī 'n-Nasafiyyah* (الكاشية علي العقائد النسفية): *Ibid.*

23. *Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin Kashmīrī* (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *Najātu 'l-mu'minin* (نجاة المؤمنین): Delhi 866.

24. Muḥibb Allāh b. 'Abd 'al-Shakar of Bihār (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. *Al-Fitratu 'l-ilāhiyyah sharḥ al-Hikmatī 'l-jāmi'ah* (الفترة الإلهية شرح الحكمة الجامعة): Rāmpur 317.

25. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb al-Qidwā'i al-Qannāwji styled *Nawwāb Mun'im Khān* (1126/1714).

[1. *Ḥadā'iq* 458, 2. *Tadhkirah* 139, 3. Brockelmann ii 417.]

(For another work of his see section IX.)

B. *Baḥru 'l-madhāhib* (بحر المذاهب): Berlin 1851; Bahār 105; Rāmpūr 284.

C. *Kitābu 'ṣ-ṣalāt* (كتاب الصلاة):* *Ḥadā'iq* 458.

26. *Ḥāfiẓ Amān Allāh* of Benares (1133-1720).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الكاشية علي شرح المواقف): *Tadhkirah* 27.

*According to the *Tadhkirah* (p. 139), the title of this work is كتاب الصلوة which is obviously a misprint.

- ii. *Hāshiyah* 'ala 'l-*hāshiyati* 'l-*qadimah* (الكاشية علي الكاشية القديمة): Ibid.
- iii. *Hāshiyah* 'ala *Sharhi* 'l-*Aqā'id* 'd-*Dawwānī* (الكاشية علي شرح العقائد الدواني): Ibid.
- iv. *Hāshiyah* 'ala 'l-*Aqā'id* 'l-*Atudiyyah* (الكاشية علي العقائد المتدوية): Ibid.

27. *Shāh Khūb Allāh* of Allahabad (1144/1731).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

- C. *Mā'khadh* 'l-*i'tiqād* fī *shāni* 'l-*aṣḥāb wa ahl bayti* 'l-*amjad* (ماخذ الاعتقاد في شأن الامكاب): *Tadhkirah* 59.

28. *Nuru'd-Dīn Aḥmadabādī* (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, VI, IX.)

- C. i. *Al-Hāshiyatu* 'l-*qawimah* 'ala 'l-*hāshiyati* 'l-*qadimah* (الكاشية القويمه علي الكاشية القديمة): *Tadhkirah* 248.
- ii. *Hāshiyah* 'alā *Sharhi* 'l-*Mawāqif* (الكاشية علي شرح المواقف): Ibid.
- iii. *Hallu* 'l-*ma'ūqid* li-*hāshiyah* *Sharhi* 'l-*Maqāsid* (حل المعاهد لكاشية شرح المقاصد): Ibid.

29. *Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī* (1161/1748).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

- B. i. *Sharhu* 'r-*risālati* 'l-*mubāriziyyah* fī 'l-*aqā'id* 'l-*islāmiyyah* (شرح الرسالة المبارزية): *Rampar* 308.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'd-Dawwānī* (الكاشية على شرح العقائد الدواني): Bānkrpur 556; Delhi 112/2.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-hāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الكاشية على الكاشية القديمة): 'Aligarh 113.

30. Muḥammad Panāh entitled *Musta'id Khān* (in the time of Muḥammad Shah of the Mughul Dynasty—1131-1161/1719-1749).

[Tajallī 94.]

(For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Risālah fī taḥqīqi 'l-mabḍā'* (الرسالة في تحقيق المبدأ): Miftāh 2633/7.

31. *Qāḍī Mubārak b. Muḥammad Dā'im al-Fāraqī* of Gupāma'u* (1162/1748).

He was a scholar chiefly interested in theology and philosophy and was a contemporary of *Qāḍī Aḥmad 'Alī* and *Mawlawī Ḥamd Allāh*, both of Sandīla, with whom he had polemic discussions. His commentary on Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī's *Sullamū 'l-'ulūm* is one of the standard books for higher studies in logic.

[Tadhkirah 175.]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Hāshiyah alā Hāshiyah Mīr Zāhid 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الكاشية على حاشية مير زاهد على الأمور العامة): Delhi 828; Bānkrpur 543; Loth 453; 'Aligarh 113; Rāmpur Nos. 71-2.

32. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (1163/1749).

(For other works of his, see sections II.

*A village in the Hardoi district of U. P. in India.

B. *Al-'Awn fī kashf ḥall Fir'awn fī raddi 'r-risālati 'l-Hikmiyyati 'l-'alawiyyah fī 'l-kalimati 'l-Mūsawiyyah li Ibn al-'Arabī* (الاعون في كشف حال فرعون في رد الرسالة الحكيمية العلوية) (في الكلمات الموسوية لابن العربي Rampur 316

C. i. *Risālah fī Bid'ati 't-ta'ziyah* (الرسالة في بدعة) (التعزية): Ithāf 404.

ii. *Tuhfatu 'l-anām fī 'l-'amal bi ḥadīth Khayri 'l-anām* (تحفة الأنام في العمل بحديث) (خير الأنام): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī 'n-Nahy 'an 'i-shq suwari 'l-murd wa 'n-niswān* (الرسالة في النهي عن) (عشق صور المرد و النساء): Ibid.

33. *Shāh Muḥammad Fākhir b. Shāh Khub Allāh* of Allahabad (1164/1750).

After completing his education under his elder brother *Shaykh Muḥammad Zāhir*, he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah where he finished higher studies in *ḥadīth* under *Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī*. When he was going on the pilgrimage a third time, he died at Burhānpur on his way to the Hijāz.

[1. Ithāf 404, 2. Tadhkirah 206.]

B. *Durratu 't-taḥqiq fī nusrati 's-Siddiq* (درة) (التحقيق في نصرته الصديق): Āsafiyyah ii 1304.

C. i. *Qurratu 'l-'aynayn fī raf'i 'l-yadayn* (قورة العينين في رفع اليدين): Tadhkirah 206.

ii. *Nūru 's-sunnah* (نور السنة): Ibid.

34. *Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr al-Sindī* (1174/1760).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

B. i. *Hadīqatu 's-safā fī asmā'i 'l-Mustafā*
(حديقة الصفا في أسماء المصطفى): Bengal I 330.

ii. *Tatmīm Hāshiyati 'l-Khayālī* (تتميم حاشية الخيالي): Āṣafiyyah ii 1294.

35. Kamālu 'd-Dīn Sihālāwī (1175/1761).

He was one of the eminent pupils of *Mullā Nizāmu 'd-Dīn b. Mullā Quṭbu d-Dīn al-Shahīd al-Sihālāwī*. He has several works to his credit.

[Tadhkirah 172.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'l-Jalālī*
(الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالية).

MSS. Āṣafiyyah ii 1300; Aligarh 111.

36. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called *Shāh Walī Allah* of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, X, XI.)

A. i. *Hujjat Allāhi 'l-bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة):
MSS. Bankipur, 580; Rāmpūr 334.

ii. *Al-'Aqīdatu 'l-ḥasanah* (العقيدة الحسنة):
MSS. Āṣafiyyah ii 1302; Delhi 112.

B. i. *Al-Muqaddimatu 's-saniyyah fī intishāri 'l-firqati 's-sunniyyah* (المقدمة السنية في انتشار الفرقة السنية): Delhi 939; Rāmpūr 322; Āṣafiyyah ii 1326.

ii. *Sharḥ al-Risālah fī masā'il 'ilm Wājib ta'ālā* (شرح الرسالة في مسائل علم واجب تعالى):
Rāmpūr 308.

37. Muḥammad Ṣiddiq Lāhurī b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf b. Muḥammad Laṭīf (1192/1778).

His father having migrated from Kabul to Lahore he was born there in 1128/1715. He completed his education under eminent scholars of the age. In *ḥadīth* he obtained the *sanad* from *Shaykh* Yahyā b. Ṣālīḥ Makki and *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindi. He had a very facile pen and wrote many works, none of which is known to the present writer to be extant.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 451, 2. Tadḥkirah 194.]

(For another work of his, see section VIII.)

- C. i. *Madāru 'l-Islām fi 'ilmi 'l-kalām* (مدار الاسلام في علم الكلام): Ḥadā'iq 451.
- ii. *Shurūṭu 'l-īmān* (شروط الايمان): Ibid.
- iii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-ḥaqq fī tarki 'l-shi'r wa 'l-ḥalq* (القول الحق في ترك الشعر و الحلق): Ibid.
- iv. *Ḥadmu 't-tāghūt fī qissah Ḥūrūt wa Mūrūt* (هدم الطاغوت في قصة هاروت و ماروت): Ibid.
- v. *Nūr ḥadaqati 'th-thaḡalayn fī tamthali 'n-na'layn* (نور حدقة الثقلين في تمثال النملين): Ibid.
- vi. *Sharḥi 'n-nafḥati 'l-bāḥirah fī jawāzi 'l-qawl bi 'l-khamsati 't-tāḥirah* (شرح نفحات الباهرة في جواز القول بالخمسة الطاهرة): Ibid.
- vii. *Tabyīnu 'r-raqq fī tabyīni 'l-ḥaqq fī radd mā tasāhala fih al-Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq* (تبين الرق في تبين الحق في رد ما تساهل فيه الشيخ عبدالحق): Ibid.

38. Muḥammad Anwar b. Nuru 'd-Dīn Akbarābadī (compiled in 1192/1778).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known.

- B. *Anwāru 'l-hidāyah fī 'l-Fadāk wa 'l-qirtās* (انوار الهداية في الفداك و القرتاس): Delhi 786.

39. Nur Muḥammad Kaṣḥmirī (1195/1780).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

- C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyati 'l-Khayālī* (الحاشية على حاشية الخيالي): Tadhkirah 248.

40. Abu 'l-Khayr (1198/1783).

[Tajallī 104.]

- C. *Sharḥu 'l-'Aqā'idī 'n-Nasafiyyah* (شرح العقائد النسفية): Ibid.

41. Fakḥru 'd-Dīn b. Nizāmu 'l-Ḥaqq (1199/1784).

- A. *Al-Qawlū 'l-mustahṣan fī fuqri 'l-Hasanī 'l-Baṣrī* (القول المستحسن في فقر الحسن البصري): see Peshāwar 792.

42. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān b. Abdu 'r-Rasul al-Raḥmānī (in the 12th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'l-'Aḥudiyyati 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد العضدية الجلالية): Bankīpur 558.

43. Muḥammad b. Abdu 'l-'Azīz (in the 12th century.)

- B. *Fakḥru 'l-ḥawāshī ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'l-Jalālī* (فخر الحواشي الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالية): Bankīpur 555.

44. Barakat Allāh (in the 12th century).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI, VII.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الهاشية على الزاهدية العامة): Bankīpūr 545.

45. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1790).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, III, IV, IX.)

- C. i. *Hikmatu 'l-īshrāq ilā kitābi 'l-ūfāq* (حكمة الاشراق الى كتاب الؤفاق): Tadhkirah 225.
- ii. *Ithāf banī al-zaman fī ḥukm qahwatī 'l-Yaman* (اتكاف بنى الزمن في حكم قهوة اليمن): Abjad 714.
- iii. *Ithāfu 'l-ikhwān fī ḥukmi 'd-dukhān* (اتكاف الاخوان في حكم الدخان): Ibid.

46. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1209/1794).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الهاشية على الزاهدية العامة): Rāmpūr 291.

47. Qāḍī Thanā' Allāh of Panipat (1225-1810).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

- C. i. *Ḥaqūqu 'l-Islām*, also known as *Ḥaqīqatū 'l-Islām* (حقوق الاسلام المعروف به حقيقة الاسلام): Tadhkirah 38, 204.
- ii. *Al-Sayfu 'l-maslūl* (السيوف المسلول): Ibid.

48. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn b. *Mullā* Muḥibb Allāh of Lucknow (1225/1810).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. *Hāshiyah ‘ala ‘l-Hāshiyati ‘Z-zāhidiyyah ‘ala ‘l-umūri ‘l-‘āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية علي الأمور العامة): ‘Aligarh 111; Nadwah 86.

49. Sayyid Dildār ‘Alī b. Sayyid Muḥammad Mu‘īnu’l-Dīn of Naṣirābād (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VIII.)

B. i. *‘Imādu ‘l-Islām* (عماد الإسلام): Bānkīpūr 533-5.

ii. *Shihāb thāqīb* (شهاب ثاقب): Delhi 909; ‘Aligarh 115; Āṣafiyyah iv 540;

iii. *Kaṣṣfu ‘n-niqāb ‘an ‘aḡā’id Ibn ‘Abdu ‘l-Wahhāb* (كشف النقاب عن عقائد ابن عبد الوهاب): Āṣafiyyah iv 542.

C. i. *Ṣawārimu ‘l-ilāhiyyat* (صور الإلهيات): Tadhkirah bi-bahā 149.

ii. *Husāmu ‘l-Islām* (حسام الإسلام): Ibid.

iii. *Iḥyā ‘u ‘l-sunnah* (إحياء السنة): Ibid.

iv. *Risālah fī Ghaybati Ṣāhibi ‘z-zamān* (الرسالة في غيبته صاحب الزمان): Ibid.

v. *Musakkinu ‘l-qulūb ‘indū faqdi ‘l-maḥbūb* (مسكن القلوب عند فقد المحبوب): Ibid.

50. *Baḥru ‘l-ulūm* ‘Abdu ‘l-‘Alī of Lucknow (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, VI, VII.)

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-āmmah* (علي الامر العامة) : *Āṣafīyyah* ii 1302, iv 538; Aligarh 113; Bankipur 548; Delhi 831.
- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idī 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد الدواني) : Miftāḥ 1194.
- iii. *Sharḥ Maqāmātī 'l mabādī* (شرح مقامات المبادئ) : *Āṣafīyyah* ii 1314.
- iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية علي شرح المواقف) : Bengal A. E. 17.

51. Muḥammad b. 'Alī of Fayḍābād (Compiled in 1235/1819).

- C. i. *Al-Asinnatu 'l-Muḥammadīyyah li 'z-zanādīqah wa 'n-naṣrānīyyah wa 'l-yahudīyyah fī taḍā'ili 'iṣmātī 'l-na'sūm* (الاسفة المكمديه للزندقة و النصرانية و اليهودية) : *Kashf*.
- ii. *Riyāḍu 'l-mawā'iz wa kifāyatu 'l-muta-dhakkir wa 'l-wā'iz* (رياض الموعظ و كفاية المتذكر) : Ibid.

52. 'Alī Muḥammad (1236/1820).

[Tajallī 125.]

- C. i. *Minhāju 'l-Islām* ((منهاج الاسلام) : Ibid.
- ii. *Tahdhību 'l-Islām* (تهذيب الاسلام) : Ibid.

53. *Shāh* 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. *Shāh* Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI.)

- A. i. *Nizāmu 'l-'aqā'id* (نظام العقائد). Bri. Mus.
- ii. *Sharḥ miẓāni 'l-'aqā'id* (شرح ميزان العقائد): Ibid.
- iii. *Risālah fī mā yajib ḥifẓuhū li-'n-nāẓir* (الرسالة في ما يجب حفظه للناظر): Ibid.
- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية العامة (الزاهديه على امور العامة): Delhi 828-1514.
- ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-muqaddimati 's-saniyyah fī intiṣūri 'l-firqati 's-sunniyyah* (الحاشية على المقدمة السنية في انتصار الفرقة السنية): Ibid.

54. Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Muḥammad b. Shaykh Muḥyi 'd-Dīn b. Shaykh 'Umar,* commonly called Al-Aslami of Madras (a contemporary of Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz of Delhi).

Concerning him, nothing seems to be known except that he was a scholar of Madras and a pupil of *Baḥru 'l-'ulūm* 'Abdu 'l-'Alī. He composed the undermentioned work in 1227/1812.

- A. *Al-Tarjumatu 'l-'abqariyyah wa 's-ṣawlatu 'l-Haydariyyah* (الترجمة البقرية و الصلاة الكيدرية) (Arabic translation of *Shāh* 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz's *تكملة اناعشويه*): Āṣa'fiyyah ii 1294, MSS. Bankipur 584; Āṣa'fiyyah ii 1294.

*According to Bankipur No. 584; but according to the Asa'fiyyah Catalogue ii, page 1294, the name of the author is محمد سعيد اسلمي.

55. 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz b. Aḥmad Multānī (a contemporary of the above mentioned Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz of Delhi).

B. *Al-Nibrās sharḥu 'l-'Aqā'idī 'n-Nasafiyyah*
(النبراس شرح العقائد النسفية): Nadwah 89.

56. *Shāh* Muḥammad Ismā'il b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghānī of Delhi (1246/1830).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, X.)

A. *Irshādu 'l-'ibād ilā sabili 'r-rashād* (ارشاد العباد إلى سبيل الرشاد): Bri. Mus.

57. Rashīdu 'd-Dīn Khān of Delhi (1249/1833).

He was a pupil of *Shāh* Rafi'ū 'd-Dīn Dihlawī b. *Shah* Walī Allāh.

[1. Abjad 917, 2. Tadḥkirah 63, 3. Maḥbūb 29.]

B. *Ilāh laṭāfati 'l-maḡāl fī tafṣīli 'l-jawāb bi 'l-iṣṣāḥ 'an sharaḥfati 'l-'al wa tafṣīli 'l-aṣḥāb*
(إيضاح لطائف المقال في تفصيل الجواب بالانصاح عن شرافت)
(آل) : Maḥbūb p. 29.

C. *Al-Shawḡatu 'l-'Umarīyyah* (الشوكة العمرية):
Abjad 917.

58. Qāḍī Irtidā 'Alī Khān Gupāmawī (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VI, IX.)

B. *Izāḥatu 'l-awḥān 'an mas'ilatī 'l-kalām* (إزاحة)
(الآوهام عن مسألة الكلام): Aṣafiyyah iv 532.

59. Muftī Zuhūr Allāh b. Muḥammad Walī b. Muftī Ghulam Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1256/1840).

Born in 1174/1760, he received his education from his father and his uncle *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan and was

appointed *Muftī* at Lucknow during the reign of *Nawwāb* Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. He has several works to his credit.

[1. Farangī, 2. *Ātharu 'l-uwal* 16, 3. *Tadhkirah* 99.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'alā 'l-umūri 'l-āmmah* (الكاشية علي الكاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة): Bānkīpur 547; Delhi 830.

60. Sayyid 'Alī b. S. Dildār 'Alī Naṣirābādī (1259/1843).

Born at Lucknow in 1200/1785, he received his education from his father and qualified himself in all the branches of Islamic learning. He died at the Karbalā. He was the author of several works.

[1. *Nujum* 403, 2. *Tadhkirah bi-bahā* 214.]

B. *Zād qulūl* (زاد قلیل) *Āṣafiyyah* ii 1308.

C. i. *Risālah fi 'l-Fadāk* (الرسالة في الفدك): *Nujūm* 403.

ii. *Risālah fi 'l-mut'ah* (الرسالة في المتعة): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fi jawāzi 'l-ta'ziyah* (الرسالة في جوائز التعزية): Ibid.

61. Walī Allāh b. *Mullā* Ḥabīb Allāh Farangī-mahallī (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI, VIII.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqū'idī 'l-'Aḥudiyyah* (الكاشية علي شرح العقائد اهل الهدى): Aligarh 113.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'al-'l-umūri 'l-āmmah* (الكاشية علي الكاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة): *Āthāru 'l-uwal* 33.

62. *Mullā* Naru 'd-Dīn b. Ismā'il Rāmpurī (1270/1853).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. *Al-Bay'ah bi yadi Khalīfatī 'r-Raḥmān 'ala madhhabī 'n-Nu'mān* (البيعة بيد خليفة الرحمن على مذهب النعمان): Rāmpur 285.

63. Sayyid Ḥusayn* b. S. Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrabadī (1273/1856).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI.)

B. i. *Manāḥijū 't-tadqīq wa Ma'ārījū 't-tahqīq* (مناهج التدقيق و معارج التحقيق): Bengal I 991.

ii. *Al-Majālisu 'l-mufjji'ah* (المجالس المفججة): Buhār 211.

C. i. *Aṣālatu 't-tahārat* (اصالة الطهارة): Kashf.

ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'l-ḥasanah* (الفوائد الحسنه): Ibid.

64. Abū Sa'īd Zuhuru 'l-Ḥaqq of Patnah (1279/1862).

[See Bankīpur 583.]

B. *Taswīlātu 'l-falāsifah* (تسويلات الفلاسفة): Bānkīpur 583; Naḥīr Ahmad 105.

65. Ḥājī Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī al-Dihlawī al-'Uṭhmānī (in the 13th century).

A. *Izhāru 'l-ḥaqq fī raddi 'n-naṣārū* (إظهار الحق في رد النصارى): See Brockelmann ii 504; Āṣafiyyah ii 1290.

*For his biography refer to تذكرة بيها, p. 124.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR
DOUBTFUL DATES

1. *Mullā* Aḥmad Allāh of Peshāwar.

B. *Tuḥfatu 'l-ikhwān fi 't-tafrīqah bayni 'l-kufr wa 'l-imān* (تحفة الإخوان في التفرقة بين الكفر والإيمان): Rāmpūr 285.

2. Ni'mat Allāh.

B. *Risālah fī Khalqī 'l-ʿmāl* (الرسالة في خلق الأعمال): Miftah 2609/7.

3. Ibn Sirāj.

B. *Tadhkiratu 'l-madhūhib* (تذكرة المذاهب): Delhi 285.

4. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm.

B. *Risālah fī imān Fir'aun* (الرسالة في إيمان فرعون): Rāmpūr 301.

5. Badru 'd-Dīn of Ḥaydarābad.

B. *Risālah fī raddi 'l-wahhābiyyat* (الرسالة في الرد الوهابية): Rāmpūr 302.

6. Fath Muḥammad.*

B. *Risālah fī Takhlīqi 'l-wujūd* (الرسالة في تخليق الوجود): Bengal II 32.

7. Muḥammad Aḥsan of Peshāwar.

B. *Al-Abḥāthu 't-tis'atu 'l-muta'allagah bi kalī-māti 't-tawḥīd* (الابصاحات التسعة المتعلقة بكلمات التوحيد): Peshāwar 739.

* He may be the son of Muḥammad Isā Burhānpuri, (see p. 292).

8. Malik Aḥmadābādī b. Malik Pīr Muḥammad al-Fāruqī.

B. *'Iqdu 'l-la'ālī al-glḥāshiyah fī ḥāshiyati 'sh-sharḥ wa sharḥi 'l-ḥāshiyah* (عقد الآلى الغاشية فى حاشية الشرح و شرح الغاشية): Bengal A. E. 45.

9. *Mullā* Akbar.*

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الغاشية على الغاشية الزاهدية (على الامور العامة): Delhi 835.

10. Yūsuf Aḥmadābādī.

B. *'Aqū'id* (عقائد): Stewart, p. 143.

11. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl of Jūnāgarh.

B. *Wasīlatu 'n-naḥāt fī aḥkāmī 'l-manāt* (وسيلة النجاة فى احكام المنات): Nadhīr Aḥmad 55.

*He may be Muhammad Akbar Kashmiri (d. 1272/1855). For his short biography refer to the *Tadhkirah*, p. 182.

SECTION VI

PHILOSOPHY

1. Sayyid Muḥammad Hamadhānī b. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadhānī (d. in the early part of ninth century).

We have already known his father* as the author of several works mentioned in section I, II, IV. While twenty-two years old, Muḥammad Hamadhānī went to Kashmīr in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar, the Idol-breaker, and acquired there a very high position as a saint and a religious leader. Under his influence and guidance, the Hindū minister of the Sulṭān embraced *Islām* and gave him his daughter in marriage. Besides the work mentioned below, he is said to have written a treatise on *Ṣūfīsm*.

[Tadhkirah 219]

C. *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* (شرح الشمسية): Ibid.

2. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Manglārī (in the early part of the ninth century).

[See Loth 577, where it is written: 'It appears from this Ms. that the author wrote this commentary at Asāwul (i.e., Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt), and dedicated it to Muḥammad Unnar Khān, who was probably a son of Jām Fath Khān b. Sikandar, ruler of Sindh (812-827 A. H.).']

B. *Al-Juz'u 'l-awwal min al-Zubdah sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah fī 'ilmi 'l-mizān* (الجزء الأول من الزبدية شرح الشمسية في علم الميزان): Loth 577-79.

* For his life, refer to page 233.

3. 'Abd Allāh b. Ilāh-dād al-'Uthmānī of Tulumba* (922/1516).

(For a short biographical note on him, refer to page 110.)

[1. Ṭabaqāt f-152 a, 2. Ma'āthir 191, 3. Subhah 42, 4. Abjad 894, 5. Ḥada'iq 362, 6. Tadḥkirah 101, 7. Azad 18.]

A. *Bad'i'u 'l-mizān sharḥ Mīzān al-mantiq* (بدیع المیزان شرح میزان المنطق).

MSS. Loth 574; Delhi 1359; Miftah 1926; Bri. Mus. p. 455; Rāmpūr 433; Bānkīpūr 2311; Āṣafiyyah 1566. Nadwah 424, 451.

4. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Ilmī (965/1557)†.

He was a Shī'ah scholar of Persia and a pupil of Jalālū 'd-Dīn al-Dawwānī. He came to Aḥmadnagar during the reign of Ḥusayn Nizām Shāh (961-972/1553-65), and dedicated the undermentioned work to him.

[See Loth 490 and Bānkīpūr 2364.]

A. *Ghāyatū 'n-nihāyah*,† *ḥāshiyah sharḥi 'l-Maybudhā* (غاية النهاية حاشية شرح الميبدى): See Āṣafiyyah iv 488.

MSS. Loth 490; Rāmpūr (philosophy section) No. 47; Bānkīpūr 2364.

5. Muṣliḥū 'd-Dīn al-Larī al-Anṣārī (979/1571).

[1. Rieu Perse. Cat. I 116; 2. Brockelmann ii 420.]

* A village in Multan.

† 'Alimī (العلیمی) according to Bankipur 2364.

‡ According to Loth; but إلهدایة according to Bankipur.

- B. i. *Risālah fī Baḥth tamām al-mushṭarik* (الرسالة في بحث تمام المشترك): Goth 87 ii, 88 ii.
- ii. *Risālah fī Baḥth al-quḍrah wa 'l-irāḍah* (الرسالة في بحث القدرة و الإرادة): Ibid. 87 iii, 88 iii.
- iii. *Risālah fī Baḥth al-ḥarakah* (الرسالة في بحث الحركة): Berlin 5100.
- iv. *Risālah fī Taḥqīq al-ma'ād wa 'l-mabḍ'* (الرسالة في تحقيق المعاد و المبدء): Leid 1601.
- C. i. *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-mantiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق): See Rieu Pers. Cat. page I 116.
- ii. *Sharḥ Hidāyati 'l-hikmah* (شرح هداية الحكمة): Ibid.

6. Amīr Fath Allāh Shīrāzī (997/1588).

A pupil of Kamālū 'd-Dīn Shīrūānī and Mīr Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn Maṣṣar Shīrāzī, he was an eminent scholar of Shīrāzī from where he was invited by 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur to the Deccan. Later on in 991/1583 he joined the service of Akbar, the Great, and soon became one of the most prominent companions and courtiers of the Emperor.

- [1. Bada'unī iii 154, 2. Tabaqāt b. 222 a, 3. Ma'āthir 237]

- C. i. *Takmilah ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī 'alā Tahdhīb al-mantiq* (تملك حاشية الدواني على تهذيب المنطق): Ma'āthir 237.
- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية على حاشية الدواني): Ibid.

7. Qāḍī Nur Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf shustarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, IX)

B. i. *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق): Būbār 299; Rāmpur 453; Delhi 1464.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'd-Dawwāni 'alā Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (الحاشية على شرح الدواني): Rāmpur 457.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Maybudhī* (الحاشية على الميبدئي): Rāmpur 385.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Shamsiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الحاشية على الشمسية القطبية): Kasf.

8. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uṭhmānī, called 'Abdu n-Nabī al-shaṭṭārī (d. after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, IX, X.)

C. *Rūḥu 'l-arwāḥ sharḥu 'l-hikmati 'l-ishrāqiyyah* (روح الأرواح شرح الحكمة الإشراقية): Taḥkirah 135.

9. *Shaykh* 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi (1052/1642).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VIII.)

A. *Al-Durratu 'l-bahiyyah* (الدرة البهية): in Bri. Mus.

10. *Shaykh* Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. *Kitāb al-mubīn* (كتاب المبين): Rāmpur 402.

11. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Gīlānī, entitled *Ḥakīmu 'l-mulk* (1059/1649).

He was a pupil of Mir Baqir Damād and was attached to the court of the Quṭb Shāhs of Golkonda (918-1098/1512-1687).

- B. *Shajrah dānīsh* * (المجموعة المسماة بشجرة دانش) فيها مائة وثمانون مسائل من الفنون المختلفة كالطب و الفقه (و الفلسفة و الكلام و المنطق و الادبيات و غير ذلك): Āṣafiyyah ii 1748.

12. Mir Hāshim b. Ḥakīm Muḥd, Aḥsan b. Muḥd. Afḍal (1061/1650).

He received his education in Mathematics and Medicine from Ḥakīm 'Alī al-Jilānī, and was appointed by Shāh-jahān as a teacher to Awrangzib.

[1. Farhat, 2. Maḥbub 190.]

- B. i. *Hāshiyatu 'l-maybudhī* (حاشية الميبدني): Rāmpūr 385.
ii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-afkār, ḥāshiyah sharḥ i Maṭālī' al-anwār* (خلاصة الافكار حاشية شرح): Āṣafiyyah ii 1568.

13. Mullā Maḥmad al-Fārūqī Jawnpurī (1062/1651).
(For another work of his, refer to section IV.)

- A. i. *Al-Hikmatu 'l-bālighah* (الكمة البالغة).
ii. *Al-Shamsu 'l-bāzighah sharḥu 'l-Hikmatu 'l-bālighah* (الشمس الباذغة شرح الكمة البالغة).

MSS. (of both): Loth 561; Calcutta 57; Rāmpūr 398; Bānkipur 2393-95; 'Aligarh 79; Āṣafiyyah ii 1206, iv 486.

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mir Quṭbī* (الحاشية على): † Āṣafiyyah 1570.

* The title shows that the book is in Persian, but in the Āṣafiyyah catalogue, it is clearly written that it is in Arabic.

† The commentary of قطب الدين رازي (d. 766/1364) on the شمسية of نجم الدين الكاشي (d. 675/1275) is known in India as the قطبي, and the glosses of السيد الشريف الجرجاني (d. 816/1413) on the قطبي is known as the مهر قطبي.

- ii. *Al-Dawḥatu 'l-mayyādah fī ḥadīqati 's-sūrah wa 'l-māddah* (الدوحة المياده في حديقة السورة و المادة): Rāmpur 388; Āṣafiyah ii 1200; Delhi 1618.
- iii. *Risālah fī Ithbāti 'l-hayūlā* (الرساله في اثبات الهولي): Loth 561 ii.
- iv. *Risālah fī ma'nā irifā'i 'l-naqīdayn* (الرساله في معني ارتفاع النقيضين): Rāmpur 449.
- v. *Risālah fī 'l-Kullīyyāt* (الرساله في الكليات): Āṣafiyah ii 1202.

14. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkutī (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, IX.)

- A. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mīr Qutbī* (الحاشيه علي مير قطبي): See Loth 518.

MSS. Loth 518, 519; Buhār 296; Delhi 1408; Rāmpur 437; Berlin 5264. Bankipar 2253; 'Aligarh 88.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyah sharḥ Maḥālī al-anwār* (الحاشيه علي حاشيه شرح مطالب الانوار).

MSS. Bankipar 2263; Loth 596.

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Qutbī* (الحاشيه علي القطبي): Berlin 5264; in many libraries at Constantinople, e g., Āyā Ṣafiyah 1947; Sarwīlī 204; Fayḍ Allāh 95, 97; Raghib 886; Lālāh 11 2572; Yahya 216; Damād Qaḍī 1496; 'Āṭif 1626; Qilij 649; Maḥmad Pāshā ii 59, 60; Sulaymaniyyah 800; Jami' Shārifi 489, 492 etc.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Maybudhi* (الحاشيه علي الميبدئي): Rāmpur 385; Delhi 1615.

15. 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd of Jawnpur (1083/1672).

(For another work of his see section III.)

A. *Al-Ādābu 'r-Rashīdiyyah fī 'ilmi 'l-munāẓarah* (آداب الرشیدیة فی علم المناظرة).

MSS. Būhār 461 ii; Loth 558; Rampur 675; Bri. Mus. p. 456; 'Aligarh 115; Bankipur 2410; see also J R.A.S. for 1892, p. 508, No. 46.

16. *Mullā 'Abdu 'l-Bāqī b. Ghawth al-Islām al-Ṣiddiqī* of Jawnpur (1084/1673).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

B. i. *Al-Ādābu 'l-Bāqīyyah fī sharḥi 'l-Ādābi' sh-sharīfiyyah* (الآداب الباقیة فی شرح الآداب الشریفة): Loth 554-57; Delhi 77; Berlin 5321; Būhār 364; Bengal J. 3; Rāmpur 674; Bānkīpur 2407-8; Nadwah 575.

ii. *Al-Abḥāthū 'l-Bāqīyyah* (الابکات الباقیة): Būhār 365; Bānkīpur 2409; Āṣafiyyah iv 536.

iii. *Baḥṭh fī anna 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ma'lūm muttaḥidān* (بحث فی ان العلم و المعلوم متحدان): Āṣafiyyah 1736.

17. Mīr Sayyid Ismā'īl Bilgrāmī (1088/1677).

He was one of the pupils of *Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām* of Dewah and an eminent scholar of Bilgrām. He also attended the lectures of 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot and had discussions with him which impressed the latter very much.

[Ma'athir 232.]

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية على حاشية الدواني): Ibid.

18. Jalāl b. Naṣīr Chanābī (in the eleventh century).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Badī'u 'l-mīzān* (الحاشية على بدیع المیزان): * see India Office 1119.

19. Mullā Muḥammad Ṣādiq (in the eleventh century A. H.)

[See Bahār 300.]

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Badī'u 'l-mīzān* (الحاشية على بدیع المیزان): Bahār 300; Delhi 1564.

20. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbuh (in the eleventh century A. H.)

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IX.)

B. i. *Risālah fī 'l-Mantiq* (الرسالة في المنطق): Bānkīpār 1779, vi.

ii. *Risālah fī 'l-Munāẓarh* (الرسالة في المناظرة): Ibid. 1779 viii.

21. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān al-Hindī about 1100/1688).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Tahdhīb al-mantiq li 'l-Yazdī* (الحاشية على شرح تهذيب المنطق لليزدی): Berlin 5181.

22. Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid b. Qādi Muḥammad Aslam Harwī Kābulī (1101/1689).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

*Extracts from this حاشية are lithographed on the margin of the edition of the بدیع المیزان published at Lucknow in 1261-2, (India Office 1119).

- A i. *Hāshiyah* **‘alā Risālati ‘t-taṣawwur wa ‘t-taṣdīq li Qutbu ‘d-Dīn* (الكاشية على رسالة التصديق لقطب الدين)

MSS. Loth 533, Rāmpūr 464; Āṣafiyyah ii 1570, 1572, iv 624; ‘Aligarh 82, 87; Nadwah 429, 431; Bānkīpur 2266.

- ii. *Hāshiyah*† *‘alā ṣharḥi ‘d-Dawwānī ‘alā Tahdhībī ‘l-mantiq* (الكاشية على شرح الدواني على تهذيب المنطق)

MSS. Calcutta Lx; Rāmpūr 465; Loth 544; Aligarh 84, 87; Nadwah 456; Bānkīpur 2287-88.

- B. *Hāshiyah ‘alā ṣharḥ Hayākili ‘n-nūr* (الكاشية على شرح هيكل النور): Rāmpūr 385; Bānkīpur 2355.

23. *Mullā Imāmu ‘d-Dīn* b. Luṭf Allāh Muhandis (in the early part of the 12th century).

Originally he was a resident of Lahore, but later on he settled at Delhi. He was a great mathematician and astronomer.

[Tadhkirah 262]

(For another work of his, see section VII.)

- B. *Al-Taṣwīb ṣharḥ al Tahdhīb* (التصويب شرح التهذيب): Delhi 1473.

24. *Mullā Muḥammad Amin Kashmīrī* (1109/1697).

He was an eminent scholar and author of Kashmīr and the teacher of *Mullā ‘Inayat Allāh* and *Mullā Muḥsin Kashmīrī*.

* These glosses by Mir Zahid are generally known in India as الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية.

† These glosses are generally known in India as الكاشية الزاهدية الدواني أو الجلالية.

[Tadhkirah 182.]

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 't-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية على شرح التذريب): Ibid.

25. Muḥibb Allāh b. 'Abdu 'sh-Shakur of Bihār (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

A. *Sullamū 'l-'ulūm* (سلم العلوم) MSS. Loth 563-6; Rāmpur 451; 'Aligarh 82; Nadwah 443-455; Āṣafiyyah ii 1572, iv 622; Bānkīpūr, 2313-14; see Brockelmann ii 421.

B. i. *Al-Jawharu 'l-fard* (الجوهر الفرد): Loth 581; Buhār 463 vii.

ii. *Ḥallu 'l-mughālātati 'l-'āmmati 'l-wurūd* (حل المغالطة العامة ورود): Āṣafiyyah 1738.

26. Ghulam Yahyā b. Najmu 'd-Dīn of Bihār (1128/1715)*.

He was a scholar of Bihar, chiefly interested in logical studies. The under-mentioned glosses of his on a work on logic are highly esteemed in India.

[1. Beale 144, 2. Tadhkirah 159, 3. Buhār 310.]

A. *Liwā'u 'l-hudā fi 'l-layl wa 'd-dujā* (لواء الهدى في الليل والدمج - الحاشية على الزايدة القطيعة) MSS. Buhār 310; Rāmpur 441; Delhi 1380, 1537; Peshāwar 1736; 'Aligarh 84.

27. *Hāfiẓ* Amān Allāh of Benares (1133/1720).

(For another work of his, see sections I, V.)

B. i. *Risālah fi 'l-Mughālātati 'l-'āmmati 'l-wurūd* (الرسالة في المغالطة العامة ورود): Delhi 1568.

* Bankipur No. 2275 gives 1180/1766 as his death year which is not correct.

ii. *Risālah fī 't-Taḥqīqi mithli 'l-Aflātūnī*
(الرساله في تحقيق المثل الاطلاوني): Delhi
1671.

iii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-Kullīyyi 't-tabī 'ī*
(الرساله في تحقيق الكلي الطبيعي): Delhi 1568/D.

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala al Adābi 'r-Rashidiyyah* (الحاشية
على الآداب الرشيدية): Tadhkirah 27.

28. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1138/1725).

He was a great scholar and an elegant poet. Hewas the maternal grandfather of Sayyid Ghulam 'Alī Āzād. In 1111/1699, he visited the camp of Awrangzib at Bijāpūr and got a *Manṣab* and Jāgīr, with the joint offices of Bakhshī (Paymaster) and Newswriter of Gujarāt, from where he was transferred to Bhakar in Sindh. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar he was suspended from his post at Bhakar and was recalled to Delhi in 1126/1714; but soon he was re-instated and was allowed to officiate by deputy, whilst he himself remained at Delhi until 1133/1721, when he resigned in favour of his son. He is the author of several works and composed verses in four languages 'Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi.

[1. Ma'athir 257, 2. Subḥah 79, 3. Abjad 907, 4. Ḥada'iq 437, 5. Tadhkirah 108, 6. Beale 4, 7. Āzād 53, 8. Qāmus ii 56, 9. Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl by Maulawī Sayyid Maqbūl Aḥmad.]

(For another work of his, see section X.)

C. *Risālah fī Ibtāl juz' lā-yatajazzā* (الرساله في
ابطال جزء لا يتجزأ): Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl ii 13.

29. Sa'd Allah Salanī b. 'Abdu 'sh-Shakur (1138/1725).

He was a resident of Salan, a village in the Allahabad Division. Having completed his studies and

having gained a high position as a scholar and a saint, he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah. He stayed at Makkah for 12 years where many persons became his disciples. Then he returned to India and settled at Surat. Besides the under-mentioned work, he is the author of the *Risālah Kaṣḥfu 'l-ḥaqq*, the *Sharḥ-i-maḥnawī-i-Rūmī*, and the *Risālah Tuḥfatu 'r-Rasūl*.

[1. Abjad 910, 2. Tadhkirah 73, 3. Āzād 54.]

C. *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikmah* (شرح هداية الحكمه):
Tadhkirah 73.

30. *Shaykh* Ḥabīb Allāh Qannawjī (1140/1727).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. *Risālah fī 'l-manṭiq* (الرساله في المنطق):
Rāmpūr 450.

31. Mullā 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Qāḍī 'Abdu 'r-Rasul al-U'ṭhmānī of Ahmadnagar (after 1144/1731.)

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi t-Tahdhīb li 'l-Yazdī*
(الهاشيه على شرح التهذيب لليزدي): Bri. Mus.
MSS. Rāmpūr 438; Bānkīpūr 2304.5; Āṣa-
fiyyah iii 668.

32. Nūru 'd-Dīn b. *Shaykh* Muḥammad Aḥmadā-
bādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III,
IV, V, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ Tahdhībī-l-manṭiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق):
Āṣafiyyah iv 622.

33. Ḥamd Allāh b. *Shukr* Allāh of Sandīla (1160/
1747).

(For another work of his see section III.)

A. i. *Sharḥ Sullam al-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم) MSS. Rāmpur 453; Bānkīpur 2321-22; 'Aligarh 83.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l-bāziḡah* (الحاشية على الشمس البازيغية):

MSS. Rāmpur 386; 'Aligarh 80; Āṣafīyyah iv 486; Bānkīpur 2396-98.

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala sharḥ Hidāyati 'l-ḥikmah* (الحاشية على شرح هداية الحكماء): Rāmpūr 385; 'Aligarh 81.

34. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī (1161/1748).

(For other works of his see sections III, V.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala s-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرى): 'Aligarh 81; Būhar 324; Rāmpur 384; Peshāwar 1677; Bānkīpur 2371

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l-bāziḡah* (الحاشية على الشمس البازيغية): Bānkīpur 2399; Delhi 1640.

35. Muḥammad Panāh entitled Musta'id Khān (in the time of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, 1131-1161/1719-1748).

(For another work, see section V.)

B. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-jā'li 'l-basīṭ* (الرساله في تحقيق الجعل البسيط): Rāmpur 449.

36. Muḥammad Ashraf b. Abu Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-Bardawānī (in the time of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, 1131-1161/1719-1748).

He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ of Lucknow.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qulbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpur 445; Āṣafiyyah iv. 622; Bānkīpur 2267-8.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Jalālīyyah*. (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bānkīpur 2291.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الكاشية على الصدر): Rampur 385.

44. Muḥammad Amjad b. Muḥammad Fayḍ Allah Ṣiddiqī Qannawjī (in 12th century).

He was a pupil of 'Alī Aṣghar of Qannawj.

[Ḥadā'iq 457]

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الكاشية على الصدر): Rāmpur 383; Bānkīpur 2373-74; 'Aligarh 80.

45. Qādī Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī b. Faṭḥ Allāh of Sandīla (1200/1785).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qulbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Bānkīpur 2270-71; Bahār 305; Rāmpur 444; Āṣafiyyah iv 620; Delhi 1523/b.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Jalālīyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1391; Rāmpur 448; Bānkīpur 2293).

iii. *Sharḥ Sullamī 'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Nadwah 435; Bahār 305; Rāmpur 456; Āṣafiyyah iv 624.

46. *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan b. *Qāḍī* Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1209/1794).

(For other works of his, see sections works III, V.)

A. *Sharḥ Sullam al-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم):

MSS. Rāmpur 453; Āṣafiyyah iv 622;
Bānkīpur 2323; 'Aligarh 88; Nadwah 442.

B. i. *Ma'ārijū 'l-'ulūm* (معارج العلوم): Delhi
1519.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Sadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرى):
Rāmpur 383; Bānkīpur 2372; 'Aligarh 82.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l-bāziḡhah*
(الحاشية على الشمس البازغة): Buhār 333;
Rāmpur 386; Bānkīpur 2400.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati*
'l-Qutbiyyah (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية):
Bānkīpur 2269; Āṣafiyyah ii 1570;
Rāmpur 445; 'Aligarh 88.

v. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati*
'l-Jalāliyyah (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية):
Delhi 1375; Rāmpur 447;
Buhār 310; Bengal I 325 (either this
or the previous one); Bānkīpur 2292.

C. i. *Ghāyatu 'l-'ulūm fi t-tab'īyyāt* (غاية العلوم
فى الطبيعات): Tadhkirah 185.

ii. *Madārijū 'l-'ulūm* (مدارج العلوم): Āthāru 'l
uwal 11.

47. Ghulām Ḥusayn al-Shīrī of Allahabad (d. in
the early part of 13th century).

He was the teacher of Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Shī'ī Naṣīrā-badī.

[See Bahār 309 iv]

- A. *Risālah fī Ja'l basīṭ wa ja'l murakkab* (الرسالة في جعل بسيط و جعل مركب): see Āṣafiyyah ii 1202.

MSS. Bahār 309 iv.

48. Muḥammad Fīrūz b. Maḥabbat (in the time of Shāh-'ālam of the Mughal dynasty-1173-1221/1759-1806).

[See Bahār 301.]

- A. *Al-Sirāju 'l-wahhāj sharḥ Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (السراج الوهاج شرح سلم العلوم): see Āṣafiyyah iii 672.

MSS. Bahār 301; Rampur 456; Bankipur 2324.

49. Sayyid Khwājah Muḥammad b. 'Abdu 'r Raḥmān Qannawjī (in the time of Shāh-'ālam of the Mughal dynasty).

He was a scholar well-versed in esoteric and exoteric branches of Islamic learning. He went on the pilgrimage to the *Haramayn* where he derived a good deal of benefit from coming in contact with the scholars of the Ḥijāz. Besides the under-mentioned work, he is also the author of the *Hidāyatul 's-sālikīn ilā ṣirāṭi Rabbi 'l-'ālamīn* (هداية السالكين الى صراط رب العالمين) — a book on Sufism — which he dedicated to Shāh-'ālam.

[Abjad 931]

- B. *Risālatu 'l-mughālaṭah* (رسالة المغالطة): Delhi 1516.

50. Mullā Muḥammad b. Ni'mat Allāh, called Ibn Shāraf (1224/1809).

- B. *Al-Dawḥatu 'sh-shāmikhah fī sharḥi 'l-uṣūli 'r-rāsikhah* (الدوحة الشامخة في شرح الأصول الراسخة): Rāmpar 388.

51. *Mullā Muḥammad Mubīn b. Mullā Muḥib* Allah of Lucknow (1225/1810).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

- A. *Mir'ātu 'sh-shurūḥ, sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (مرآة الشروح شرح سام العلوم)

MSS. Rāmpar 456 ; 'Aligarh 86 ; Nadwah 441.

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1371 ; Rāmpar 448 ; Bānkīpar 2294.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-āḤshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpar 445 ; 'Aligarh 84 ; Nadwah 432 ; Āsafīyyah iv 622.

- iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 't-Takrīr* (الحاشية على التكرير): Bengal I 292.

- iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدر): 'Aligarh 82.

52. *Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Ḥamd Allah* of Sandīla (1225/1810).

He completed his education under his own father, *Qādī Aḥmad 'Alī* and *Mullā Bab Allah* of Jawnpur. He had a large number of pupils, of whom *Qādī Irtidā 'Alī Khān* of Gupāma'u, Sayyid Dildār 'Alī and Nur Allah Farangī Maḥallī may be mentioned here.

(Tadhkirah 54).

- B. *Al-Taḥrīrāt 'alā sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm li Ḥamd Allāh* (التكويرات على شرح سام العلوم لحمد الله): Rāmpar 434.

- C. i. *Al-Ta'liqāt 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (التعليقات علي الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Tadhkirah 54.
- ii. *Al-Ta'liqāt 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (التعليقات علي الكاشية الزاهدية الجالية): Ibid.
- iii. *Takmilah Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm li Hamd Allāh* (تكملة شرح سلم العلوم لحمد الله): Ibid.

53. *Hakīm Sharīf Khān* b. *Hakīm Wāṣil Khān* of Delhi (1231/1815).

He was a famous physician of Persian extraction who settled in India and vied with 'Alawī Khān, the well-known physician of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, in reputation as a successful medical practitioner and Arabic scholar. These two *Hakīms* became the focus of the later Indian physicians who traced their sources of learning to the one or to the other. The descendants of Sharīf Khān still retain some reputation for medical skill at Delhi.

[1. Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn's *Bustān-i-Siyāḥat*, 2. Tadhkirah 85, 3. Bānkīpur 48.]

(For other works of his, refer to section VII, medicine.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hamd Allāh* (الكاشية علي حمد الله) (شرح سلم العلوم): Būhār 306; Rāmpur. 439.

54. 'Ubayd Allāh Asad 'Alī b. Muḥammad A'lam al-Mawḍudī (Composed in 1234/1818).

B. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Āṣafiyyah iv 624.

55. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Bahru 'l-'ulūm of Lucknow (1235/1819),

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VII.)

A. i. *Sharḥ Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Buhār 302; Āṣafiyyah ii 1574, 'Aligarh 88.

ii. *Ta'liqāt 'alā Sharḥ Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (التعليقات على شرح سلم العلوم): see Buhār 303.

MSS. Buhār 303; Rampur 463; Bankīpur 2327; 'Aligarh 82; Āṣafiyyah ii 1580 where it is mentioned as the *Minhiyyah* (منهيه على شرح السلم).

iii. *Hāshiyah 'Alā Muthannāt bi 't-takrār* (الحاشية على المائدة بالتكرار): Bri. Mus.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): see Bānkipur 2-72.

MSS. Rampur 443; Bānkipur 2272; Āṣafiyyah ii 1566.

v. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): see Bānkipur 2295.

MSS. Rampur 446.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 's-Sidrā* (الحاشية على الصدر): Buhār 334; Rampur 382; Bankīpur 2376; 'Aligarh 81.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Dābiṭati 'l-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية على ضابطة التهذيب): Bengal II 74; Rampur 457; Delhi 1502; Āṣafiyyah ii 1576.

iii. *Ta'liqāt 'ala 'l-Ufuqī 'l-mubīn* (التعليقات على (النقطة المبين): Rampur 830.

iv. *Al-'Ujjālatu'n-Nāfi'ah* (العجالة النافعة): Rampur 399.

56. *Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz* b. *Shāh Walī Allah* of Delhi (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VIII, X, XI.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampur 446 ; 'Aligarh 82.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1500.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Sadrā* (الحاشية على الصدر): Rampur 384.

57. *Muḥammad Khayru 'd-Dīn* of Jawnpur (1243/1827).

[1. Elliot viii 237, 2. J.A.S.B. XXIII 284, LXXI part I, p. 313, 3. Bahar 332.]

A. *Naqdu 'l-jawāhir fī sharḥ Zawāhiri 'l-jawāhir* (نقد الجواهر في شرح ظواهر الجواهر).

MSS. Bahar 332.

58. *Faḍl Imam* of *Khayrabad* (1243/1827).

He was a pupil of Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Wajid of *Khayrabad* and held the post of *ṣadrū 's ṣudūr* at *Shahjahanabad*.

A. i. *Tashhīdhū 'l-adhhān fī sharḥi 'l-Mizān* (تشهيد الاذهان في شرح الميزان):

MSS. Delhi 1529; Āṣaḥfiyyah ii 1566.

ii. *Mirqāt* (مرآت)

MSS. Delhi 1529, 1545.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية)

MSS Bankipur 2273.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1513.

ii. *Talkhīṣ al-Shifā'* (تلخيص الشفاء): Rāmpur 381; 'Aligarh 80.

59. 'Alī Muḥammad b. Dā'ud Khān (Composed in 1248/1832).

B. *Hidāyatu 'l-manṭiq Sharḥ Tahdhībī 'l-manṭiq* (هداية المنطق شرح تهذيب المنطق): Nadwah 439-40.

60. Shāh Rafī'u 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, X, XI.)

B. i. *Takmilu 'ṣ-ṣan'ah* (تكميل المنع): Nadwah 458; Bankipur 2329; Rāmpur 435.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpur 454.

iii. *Muqaddimatu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-iktisāb* (مقدمة العلم والاكتساب): Nadwah 460.

- iv. *Risālah fī I'tibārātī 'l-Māhiyyah* (الرساله في اعتبارات الماهيه): Nadwah 459; Āṣafiyyah ii 1578.

61. Qādī Muḥammad Irtidā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafa 'Alī Khān of Gupāma'u (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, V, IX.)

- A. i. *Al-Taṣrīḥ fī 'l-mantiq* (التصريح في المنطق): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bānkipur 2330; Āṣafiyyah iv 620.

- ii. *Sharḥ Sharḥi 'l-Tahdhīb* (شرح شرح التهذيب): see Āṣafiyyah ii 1574.

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدر): Rāmpur 384; Āṣafiyyah ii 1198.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qulbīyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Āṣafiyyah ii 1574; iv 622.

- iii. *Al-Ta'liqāt 'alā sharḥi Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (التعليقات على شرح سلم العلوم لعماد الدين سنديلي): Āṣafiyyah iv 620.

62. Muḥammad Ismā'il Landanī (1253/1837).

Originally a resident of Murādābād, he used to live at Lucknow. He was a clever fellow, well versed in literature. He was deputed by Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ḥayder, ruler of Lucknow, to go to London to represent his case before the British Government. He married an English lady there and returned home with her.

(Tadhkirah 279).

- C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية على شرح التهذيب للبزدوى): Ibid.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Maybudhī* (الكاشية على (المبذى): Ibid.

63. Muḥammad Zuhur Allāh b. Muḥammad Walī b. Muftī Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1256/1840).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

- A. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Rāmpūr 446; Delhi 1395; 'Aligarh 82; Bānkīpūr 2296.

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'd-Dawḥati 'l-mayyādah* (الكاشية على الدوحة الميادية في حديقة الصورة والمادة): Rāmpūr 381.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpūr 445; Āṣafiyyah ii 1580.

64. Muḥammad Mu'in b. Mullā Muḥammad Mubīn of Lucknow (1258/1842).

He received his education from his elder brother Muḥd Haydar, Walī Allāh and Zuhur Allāh of Lucknow. In *Hadith* he was a pupil of 'Abdu 'l-Ḥafīz Makrī. He wrote several books, of which, besides the undermentioned work, the *Ghāyatu 'l-bayān fīmā yata'allaqu bi 'l-hayawān*, (غاية البيان فيما يتعلق بالحيوان), the *ghāyatu 'l-kalām fī 'l-qir'at khalf imām* (غاية الكلام في القراءة خلف الإمام) and the *Ibrāzu 'l-kunūz* (ابراز الكنوز في احوال ارباب الرموز) may be mentioned here.

[1. Ātharu 'l-uwal 30, 2. Tadhkirah 228.]

- C. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Sadrā* (الكاشية على الصدر): Ibid.

65. Muḥammad 'Alī b. *Muṣṭafī* Yār Muḥammad al-Malaybārī (Composed in 1260/1344).

A. *Kawākibu 'l-'irfān fī taḥqīqī 's-subḥān al-mulaqqab bi 's-sab'ati 's-sayyārah* (كواكب العرفان في تحقيق السبحان الملقب بالسبعة السياره): see *Āṣafīyyah* iii 672.

66. Muḥammad Aḥsan *Wā'iẓ* known as *Hāfiẓ* Darāz of Peshāwar (1263/1846).

He was the son of *Hāfiẓ* Muḥammad Ṣādiq *Wā'iẓ* b. *Hāfiẓ* Muḥd. Aṣhrāf of Peshāwar. Besides the works mentioned below, he wrote both in Arabic and Persian several books of which the *Manhajū 'l-Bārī* (منهج الباري): (Persian commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī*), the *Tafsīr Yūsuf* (تفسير يوسف): the *Tafsīr Wa 'd-duḥā* (تفسير (والضحى) and *Mi'rāj nāmāh* (معراج نامه) may be mentioned here.

[1. *Ḥadā'iq* 473, 2. *Taḥkirah* 60.]

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Qādī Mubārak 'alā Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (الحاشية علي شرح قاضي مبارک): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Buhār 308; Rāmpūr 441; Peshāwar 1686.

67. Walī Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh of Lucknow (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VIII.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية علي الصدر): Rāmpūr 381.

ii. *Al-Taṭbīḥāt fī baḥṭhi 't-taṣḥkīk fī 'l-māhiyyāt* (التنبيهات في بحث التشكيك في الماهيات): Rāmpūr 381.

- . iii. *Sharḥ Tadḥkirati 'l-mīzān* (شرح تذكرة الميزان): 'Aligarh 83.

68. Khādim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḥaydar b. Muḥd. Mubīn of Lucknow (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

- A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mir'āti 'sh-shurūḥ* (الحاشية على مرآة الشروح): Bri. Mus.

69. Sayyid Abu 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Naṣrabadī (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V.)

- B. *Al-Tal'iqāt 'alā Ḥamd Allāh* (التعليقات على حمد الله): Rampūr 434.

70. Aḥmad 'Alī 'Abbāsī of Chiryākot* (1272/1855).

He is one of the eminent scholars of his time, well versed in all the branches of Islamic learning.

[*Tadḥkirah* 20]

- C. i. *Nūru 'l-nwāzīr fī 'ilmi 'l-munāẓarah* (نور النواظر في علم المناظرة): Ibid,

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mīr Quthbī* (الحاشية على مير قطبي): Ibid.

- iii. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سام العلوم): Ibid.

71. Faḍl Ḥaqq b. Faḍl Imam Khayrabadī (1278/1861).

(For another work of his, see sections IV, VIII, XI.)

- A. i. *Al-Ḥadiyyatu 's-sa'idiyyah* (الهدية السعيدية).

*Chiryākot is a village in A'zamgarh District, U.P.

MSS. Rampur 405; Bankipur 2403;
 Āṣafīyyah ii 1216.

- ii. *Hāshīyah 'alā Sharḥ Qāḍī Mubārak*
 (الكاشرية على شرح قاضي مبارك).

MSS. Rampur 440; Bankipur 2317.

- B. i. *Risālah fī Radd 'ala 'l-qā' ilīn bi ḥarakati*
 'l-ard (الرساله في رد علي القائلين بحركت الارض):
 Berlin 5114.

- ii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ma'lūm*
 (الرساله في تحقيق العلم و المعلوم): Rampur 392.

- iii. *Risālah fī Qāṭighūrīyās* (الرساله في
 قاطيغورياس): Ibid. 392.

- iv. *Al-Ḥāfī li ḥall Isāghūjī* (الهافي لحل ايساغوجي):
 Ibid. 460.

- v. *Hāshīyah 'ala 'l-ufuqi 'l-mubīn* (الكاشرية
 علي الافق المبين): 'Aligarh 87.

- vi. *Hāshīyah 'ala 'l-minhiyyah li Qāḍī*
Mubārak 'alā Sharḥihī (الكاشرية على
 المنهيه لقاضي مبارك على شرحه علي السلم):
 Bankipur 2315.

- C. i. *Al-Jinsu 'l-ghālī fī sharḥi 'l-Jawāhiri*
 'l-'ālī (الجنس العالي في شرح الجواهر العالي):
 Tadhkirah 164.

- ii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-kullīyyi 't-tabī'ī*
 (الرساله في تحقيق الكلي الطبعي): Ibid.

- iii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-ajṣām* (الرساله في
 تحقيق الاجسام): Ibid.

72. 'Imadu 'd-Dīn 'Uṭmānī Labkanī (in the
 13th century.)

(For another work, see section III.)

- B. i. *Hāshīyah 'alā 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الكاشية على الصدر): Rampūr 384; Bānkīpur 2378; 'Alīgarh 81.
- ii. *Hāshīyah 'alā Sharḥ Ḥamd Allāh 'alā Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (الكاشية على شرح حمد الله على سلم العلوم): Bāhār 307; Rampūr 440; Delhi 1414; 'Alīgarh 83.
- iii. *Al-Qawlū 'l-fayṣal, ḥāshīyah 'alā 'l-Hāshīyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (القول الفصيل الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampūr 444; Bānkīpur 2274; 'Alīgarh 78, 88.
- iv. *Risālah al-'Aṣharatu 'l-kāmilah fī taḥqīqi 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ma'lūm* (الرسالة العشرة في تأمل العلم والمعلوم): Rampūr 449; 'Alīgarh 87.
- v. *Al-'uqūdu 'l-wāḥiqah* (العقود الواقية): Bengal II 76; Nadwah 454.
- vi. *Al-Fi'lū 'l-jamīl* (الفعل الجمال يعني الكاشية على (الكاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bānkīpur 2297; 'Alīgarh 89.
- vii. *Al-Jadhru 'l-abkam* (الجذر الابكم): 'Alīgarh 189.

73. Nuru 'l-Islām b. Shāykh al-Islām of Rampūr (13th century).

- A. *Hāshīyah 'alā Sharḥ Qāḍī Mubārak* (الكاشية على شرح قاضي مبارک على سلم العلوم): see Āṣafīyyah ii 1568.
- B. i. *Hāshīyah 'alā 'l-Hāshīyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الكاشية على الكاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampūr 446.

- ii. *Risālah fī Māhiyyati 'l-makān* (الرسالة في ماهية المكان): Ibid 393.

74. Asad Allāh Panjabī (13th century).

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala Hamd Allāh* (الحاشية على حمد الله): Rampūr 440; Nadwah 83.

- ii. *Risālah fī 'Ilmi 'l-Wājib* (الرسالة في علم الواجب): Rampur 392

- iii. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Bankipur 2325.

- iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Sūdrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rampur 383.

75. 'Abdu 'l-Ghāfur b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Sarhindi (13th century).

- B. *Al-Sharḥu 'l-mubīn sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (الشرح المبين شرح سلم العلوم): Delhi 1452.

76. Ghulam Muṣṭafā b. Muḥd. Muṣṭafā (13th century).

- B. *Risālah fī Sharḥi 'l-Muqddimah* (الرسالة في شرح المقدمة): Rampur 450.

77. Ghulam Nabī of Shāhjahānpur (13th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampur 440 ; Nadwah 435 ; Delhi 1380.

78. Tāju 'd-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī (13th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Rampur 448.

79. Muḥammad Walī b. Wāḥid 'Alī Khān (13th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الهاشيه على الهاشيه الزاهديه القطبيه): Ibid. 446.

80. Rustam 'Alī of Rāmpūr (13th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الهاشيه على الهاشيه الزاهديه القطبيه): Ibid. 445.

81. Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān (13th century)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'ala l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Qutbiyyah* (الهاشيه على الهاشيه الزاهديه القطبيه): Ibid.

82. Quṭb 'Ālam of Murādabād (13th century).

- B. *Risalah fi 'l-Kulliyi 't-taḥrīr* (الرساله في الكلي): Ibid 392.

83. Fayḍ Aḥmad b. Shaykh Muḥammad' (13th century).

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyati Ghulūm Yahyā** (الهاشيه على حاشيه غلام يحيى): Ibid. 437; Nadwah 82.

84. Abu 'l Maẓhar Shārafu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad (13th century).

- B. *Sharḥ Sullān 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سام العلوم): Bānkīpūr.

85. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muṣṭī Abu 'l Ḥasan (13th century).

- B i. *Ghāyatu 'l-kalām fi ḥaqīqati 't-tasdīq 'ind 'l ḥukamā' wa 'l imām* (غايه الكلام في حقيقه التصدیق عند الحكماء والامام): Rāmpūr 459.

- ii. *Minhāju 'l-mī'rāj sharḥ Mī'rāji 'l-'ulūm* (منهاج المعراج شرح معراج العلوم): Nadwah 448.

*See No. 26 of this Section.

86. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad of Sahāranpūr (13th century).

B. *Sharḥ Sullamī 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Rampur 456.

87. Ghulām Subḥān (13th century).

A distinguished scholar of Bengal in the 13th century A.H., who was for some time a teacher at the Calcutta Madrasah and afterwards *Qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Bengal.

[Bankipur 2298]

P. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidīyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bankipur 2298.

88. Hāfiẓ 'Alī Aṣḡhar of Fayḍābād (13th century).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyah Ghulām Yahyā* (الحاشية على الحاشية غلام يحيى): Āṣafiyyah ii 1658.

89. 'Abdu 'l-Malik (13th century).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Qāḍī* (الحاشية على شرح القاضي): Peshāwar 1737.

WORKS OF DOUBTFUL OR UNKNOWN DATES.*

1. Muḥammadu 'd-Dīn, commonly called Mohan
b. 'Abd Allāh of Bihār.†

B. *Sharḥ Risālati 'l Mughālatah* (شرح رسالة المغالطة) (مصحود البخاري): Bankipur 2312.

*All these works most likely belong to the 13th century.

†Bankipur No. 2312 suggests that he flourished in the 11th century A. H.

2 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāḍī.

. *Hallu 'l-Dābiṭah* (حل القاططه): Rāmpur 148.

3. Jār Allāh of Allahabad.

B. *Risālah fī Tashrīḥi 'l-Mughālātati 'l-'āmmati*
'*l-wurūd* (الرسالة في تشریح المغالطة العامة الورد):
Delhi 1568/E.

4. Muḥammad Akram b. Muḥammad Na'im.

B. *Risālah fī 'l-Mantiq* (الرسالة في المنطق):
Rāmpur 450.

5. 'Abd Allāh of the Panjab.

B. *Nuṣratu 'l-ḥawāshī* (نصرة الحواشي): Rāmpur
466.

6. Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'farī Jawnpurī.

B. *Nūru 'l-anwār sharḥi 'l-Adāb* (نور الأنوار شرح الأدب):
Nadwah 577.

7. Muṣṭafa Khān.

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyat 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah*
(الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجالية): Ibid.
454.

8. K̲bān-i-'ulam.

. B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyat 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah*
(الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجالية):
Ibid 453.

9. Muḥammad Baqī.

B. *Risālah fī 'l-Kulliyi 't-tabī'i* (الرسالة في الكلي الطبيعي):
'Aligarh 79.

10. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Jā'isī.

. *Risālah fī Nafyi 'l-kulliyi 't-tabī'i*
(الرسالة في نفى الكلي الطبيعي): 'Āṣafiyyah ii 1738.

SECTION VII

MATHEMATICS AND MEDICINE

PART A. MATHEMATICS

1. Wajīhu 'd-Dīn al-'Alawī Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala Sharh al-Jaghminī*¹ (حاشية على شرح الجغميني): Tadhkirah 250.

2. Nūr Allāh Shustarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharh al-Jaghminī* (حاشية على شرح الجغميني): Kashf.

3. *Hakīm* Mir Hāshim Jilānī (1061/1650).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. i. *Risālah fī 'Ilmi 'l-mūsīqī* (الرسالة في علم الموسيقى): Rāmpar 414.

ii. *Sharh Tahrīr usūlī 'l-handasah wa 'l-hisāb*² (شرح تكميل أصول الهندسة و الحساب): Ibid 415; Miftah 2032.

1. *Hāshiyah* means *al-hāshiyah* في المأخذ by Mahmud b. Ahmad Jaghmini. *Sharh al-Jaghminī* is the commentary on the above work by Musa b. Mahmud known as قاضي زادة الرومي

2. *Tahrīr usūlī 'l-handasah wa 'l-hisāb* is also called *al-qānūn* and is the work of جعفر زهير الدين طوسي

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Miṣṣṭi* (شرح المجسطي): Rāmpur 415.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā Taḥrīr uqlīdīs** (الحاشية على التكرير اقليدس): Maḥbub 190.

4. 'Iṣmat Allāh b. 'Azmat Allāh' of Sahāranpur (1089/1678).

(For other work of his, see sections IV, IX)

A. i. *Anwār Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (انوار خلاصة الحساب).

MSS. Peshāwar 1694; Loth 759; Rāmpur 416; Nadwah 583; 'Aligarh 120; Bānkipur 2424.

ii. *Sharḥ Taḥrīhi 'l-aflāk* (شرح تخريري الافلاك).

MSS. Āṣatiyyah i 794; Rāmpur 427; Nadwah 585; Bānkipur 2458.

B. *Dābitah qawā'idī 'l-ḥisāb* (قواعد التوابع الحساب): Bengal N. a. 6.

5. Luṭf Allāh *al-Muhandis* b. al-Ustādh Aḥmad *al-Mi'mār* (d. after 1092/1681).

He belonged to a family of Lahore, whose three generations were well known for architecture, engineering and mathematics. His father *Ustād* Aḥmad and uncle Ḥamid were the chief architects and designers of the Fort and the famous mosque of Delhi and of the celebrated Tāj Maḥall of Agra. Luṭf Allāh himself was an eminent mathematician and engineer under whose supervision the

* Perhaps it is the same work as the above mentioned شرح التكرير اصول الهندسة.

city of Shāhjahānābād was built. His brothers and his son were also eminent architects. Luṭf Allāh was also a Persian poet, Muhandis being his *takhalluṣ*. Besides the works mentioned below, he was the author of several works, which are in Persian.

[1. Maḥbub 409, 2. Rieu, Persian p. 451.]

B. *Sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (شرح خلاصة الحساب):
Loth 761; Rāmpūr 416.

6. Imāmu 'd-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh al-Muhandis (1146/1733).

Like his father, he was well versed in mathematics and architecture. He was also a Persian poet.

[1. Safīnah-i-Khuṣṣu, 2. Ḥusayn Qulī Khān 'Azīmabādī's Nishtar-i-'ishq, 3. Hamīshah bahar by Kishan Chand Ikhlās, 4. Makhzanu 'l-ghara'ib by Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Sandilawī, 5. Tadhkirah 262.]

A. i. *Al-Tasrīḥ fi sharḥ Toṣṭriḥi 'l-aṭlāk*
(التصريح في شرح توشترى الاطلاك).

MSS. Rāmpūr 422; Delhi 1937.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jaḡhmīnī* (حاشية على شرح الجعيني).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb li abih*
(حاشية على شرح خلاصة الحساب لابيه): see Loth 716.

7. Mu'tamad Khān Rustam b. Diyānat Khān Qubād Hārithi Badakhshī (in Awrangzib's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

He went to Portugal in the time of Awrangzib.

[See Loth 769].

B. *Kitābu 'l-Maqā'is* (كتاب المقائيس): Loth 764; Bri. Mus. Cat. 443 (a portion).

8. Barakat Allah* (12th century).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI.)

B. i. *Sharḥ Tahrīr usūlī'l-handasah wa'l-ḥisāb* (شرح تكمير اصول الهندسه و الحساب): Bankipur 2435.

ii. *Sharḥ Tahrīr uqlīdas* (شرح تكمير اقليدس): Rāmpur 415.

9. *Shaykh* Sulaymān b. Abi 'l-Faṭḥ al-Kashmirī (in 12th century).

B. *Lubbu 'l-lubāb sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (لب اللباب شرح خلاصة الحساب): Rāmpur 417.

10. Muḥammad Rashīdu 'd-Dīn (12th century).

He dedicated the work mentioned below to Prince Raḍīyyu 'd-Dīn 'Alī, the grandson of Jahandar Shāh of Delhi (1124/1712).

B. *Sharḥ Taṣṭīḥi 'l-aflāk* (شرح تشریح الافلاك): Bankipur 2459.

11. Tafaddul Ḥusayn Khān Kashmirī known as Khān-i-'allāmah b. Asad Allāh Khān (1215/1800).

He was born at Siyālkot and completed at Shāh-jahānābād his studies of Arabic literature and Philosophy under Wajību'd-Dīn (a pupil of Mullā Nizamu 'd-Dīn Sihālaurī) and of mathematics under Mirzā Muḥd. 'Alī b. Mirza Khayr Allāh. At the age of 18, he shifted to Lucknow where as a pupil of *Mawlawī* Muḥd. Ḥasan, he gained a name and fame and became the tutor of Nawab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān. Originally he belonged to a Sunni family, but he himself was converted to Shī'ism. He knew English and even Latin. He was chiefly interested in mathematics. In addition to the

* Or Muḥd. Barakat of 13th century. See Bankipur 2435.

works mentioned below, he is said to have composed many works. He died at Calcutta.

[1. *Tadhkirah* 36, 2. *Tadhkirah-i-bi-bahā* by S. Muḥammad Husayn 94.]

B. *Risālah fi al-Mukhrūṭāt* (الرسالة في المخروطات): Miftah 2033.

C. *Kitāb fi 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الكتاب في الجبر و المقابلة): *Tadhkirah* 37.

12. 'Abdu 'l-Basīṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj (1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III.)

B. *Sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (شرح خلاصة الحساب): Rampar 416.

13. Rawṣhan 'Alī (1225/1810).

[See MS. *Ta'rikh-i-Farrukhābad* in Bri. Mus. f. 177.]

B. *Risālah fi 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الرسالة في الجبر و المقابلة): Rampar 413.

14. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Bahru 'l-'ulam (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VI.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Mijisti* (شرح المجسطي): Bengal E. B. 5.

15. Muḥammad Salīm (1266/1849).

[*Tajalli* 128]

C. *Risālah fi 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الرسالة في الجبر و المقابلة): Ibid.

16. 'Alī Kabīr b. 'Alī Muḥammad (1269/1852).

[Tajallī 124.]

C. i. *Makhrūṭāt-i-jabrī* (مخروطات جبري)*:

ii. *Makhrūṭāt-i-Handasī* (مخروطات هندسي):

17. *Munshī* Mannan Lāl al-Mutakhallīs bi *Falsafī* Dihlawī b. Rāy Mohan Singh 'Āṣī b. Rāy Lukraj Muḥammad Shāhī b. Rāy Nand Rām 'Ālamgiri b. Rāy Khatīl Das Shāhjahanī (in early part of 13th century).

He belonged to a learned Hindū family of Delhi which maintained the torch of Persian and Arabic scholarship from the 11th century A. H. till the 13th. He and his father and son all three were Persian poets. His son, *Munshī* Kundan Lāl Ashkī, has, in his preface to his *Muntakhab*, enumerated seven works of his father in addition to one mentioned below.

[Bankipur 2461]

B. *Al-'ujāb fi 'l-ḥisāb* (العجاب في الحساب): Ram-pur 414.

18. *Munshī* Kundan Lāl al-mutakhallīs bi *Ashkī* b. the above mentioned *Munshī* Mannan Lāl Falsafī (composed in 1237/1822).

Like his father and grandfather, he was also a Persian poet. Only two works of his are known to exist, viz., the work mentioned below and the †*Muntakhab*.

[Bankipur 2461]

B. *Al-Qiṣṭas* (القسطاس): Bankipur 2461.

*Both these works may be in Persian.

†See the Handlist of the printed books at the Bankipur Library No. 1340.

A WORK OF UNKNOWN DATE

Muhammad 'Ābid of Delhi.

B. *Risālah fī Istikhrāji 'l-awsāṭi 'l-'ulaviyyah*
(الرساله في استخراج الأوساط العلويه): Rampar 424.

PART B MEDICINE.

1. *Shānāq al-Hindī* (2nd century A. H.)

(For a short note on *Shānāq* refer to page 7.
Supra.)

[1. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'ah's 'Uyūnu 'l-anbā' fī ṭabaqāṭi 'l-aṭibba' ii 32, 2. JRAS (vi) old series, p. 108, 3. Macdonnell's History of Sanskrit Literature p. 434, 427, 4. Ibn Nadīm 271.]

B. *Kitāb al Sumūn** (كتاب السوم): Berlin 6411;
Cairo vi.

2. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l Fattāḥ b. S. Isma 'il al-Ḥusaynī of Lahore (composed in 949/1542).

B. *Sharḥ Qānūnjah* (شرح قانونجه): Āṣafiyyah ii 928.

3. *Ḥakīm* 'Alī al-Jilānī entitled *Jalīnūs-i-Zamān* (1018/1609).

He came from Persia to India in very straitened circumstances; but soon became a personal attendant and friend of Akbar, the Great. In 988/1580 he was sent as an ambassador to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur; but on the sudden death of the Ādil Shāh he returned to Delhi. In 1595 he constructed the famous reservoir. The next year he was given the rank of 700 and the title of *Jālīnūs-i-zamān*.

* It is not the original work of Shānāq; It is an Arabic translation by al-Abbas b. Sa'id al-Jawhārī.

He was a great scholar, excelling his contemporaries in mathematics and medicine. He was renowned for his wonderful cures. In the time of Jahān-gir he was raised to the rank of 2000 ; but this honour he enjoyed for a short time and died in 1018 A. H.

[1. Bada'uni iii 166, 2. Blochmann's Translation of Ā'in-i-Akbarī i p. 466, 3. Ṭabaqāt f. 281, 4. Ma'athiru 'l-umara' i 568, 5. Beale 151.]

A. *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn* (شرح القانون). The portion of this commentary dealing with the Ku'lliyat was lithographed on the margin of al-Āmulī's commentary at Lucknow in 1266 A. H.

MSS. Complete MS. in five volumes at Rampur 485 ; first Vol. Bānkīpur 35 ; Vols. III and IV: Āṣafiyyah ii 926 ; other incomplete copies : Bri. Mus. p. 744 and Loth No. 781.

4. Muḥammad Akbar called *Hakīm Arzānī* b. *Hājji Muḥd. Muqīm* (in Awrangzib's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was an eminent physician and a great author. He is rightly known as Arzānī because he made the studies of medicine very cheap in India by translating the standard Arabic works on medicine into Persian. Among his Persian works, the *Tibb-i-Akbarī* (ط-اکبری), the *Mizānu 'l-tibb* (میزان الطب), the *Mufarriḥu 'l-qulūb* (مفرح القلوب) the *Mujarrabāt-i-Akbarī* (مجرربات اکبری) and the *Muntakhābāt-i-Akbarī*, (منتخبات اکبری) may be mentioned here.

[1. *Tadhkirah* 21, 2. *Maḥbab* 465.]

A. *Hudūdu 'l-amrād* (حدود الامراض).

MSS. Peshāwar 1505; Āṣafiyyah 920.

5. Muḥammad Dad al-Ḥanafī al-Qadarī al-Shaṭṭarī al-Burhānī (in the 11th century).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known except that he was a physician of the eleventh century A. H.

B. *Tanqīḥu 'l-mirāq wa 'l-ihtirāq* (تنقيح المراق , والاحتراق): Bānkīpur 108 xix; Rāmpur 472.

6. Shaykh Kalīm Allāh Jahanābādī (1143/1730).

(For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn* (شرح القانون): Rāmpur 486.

7. *Hakīm* Muḥammad Kāzīm entitled Ḥadhiqū 'l-Mulk b. Shī'ī *Mujtahi*d Ḥaydar 'Alī al-Tastarī al-Najāfī (1149/1736*).

B. *Al-Juz'u 'l-'amalī min Akmalī 's-ṣanā'ah* (الجزء العملي من اكل الصنائع): Bānkīpur 84; Rāmpur 468, 473†.

C. *Al-Juz'u 'l-'ilmī min Akmalī 's-ṣanūs 'ah* (الجزء العلمي من اكل الصنائع): mentioned in the preface to الجزء العملي.

8. *Hakīm* 'Azīzu 'r-Raḥmān alias Khudayār Khān (composed in 1158/1745).

B. *Jāmi'u 'l-laṭāfat* (جامع اللطافة): Āṣafīyyah ii 918.

9. Mu'tamadu 'l-mulk Muḥd. Ḥashīm b. *Hakīm* Muḥammad Ḥadī called Sayyid 'Alawī Khān (1162/1749).

He belonged to a distinguished family of the physicians of Khurasān. He was, however, born at

* This date according to the Rāmpur Library Catalogue (No. 14, 468); but according to Beale he must have died after 1150 A. H. in which year he is said to have composed a Persian work of his, entitled *فرحنامه فاطمه* (see Beale p. 210).

† On p. 473 Rāmpur the title is given *جامع الصنائع* which may comprise both the parts, theoretical and practical.

Shirāz in 1080/1669. He received his early education from his father who was a good physician. In 1111/1699 he came to India and entered into the service of Awrangzib who appointed him as a personal physician to Prince A'zam Shāh, afterwards known as Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, who, after his accession to the throne, conferred upon him the title of 'Alawī Khān. Afterwards he was patronized by Muḥammad Shāh who gave him the title of Mu'tamadu 'l-mulk and raised him to the rank of 6000. He was taken by Nādir Shāh to his capital but soon returned to India. He wrote several valuable works. In addition to the works, mentioned below, he was the author of the *Jāmi'u 'l-Jawāmi'* (جامع الجوامع).

[1. *Tadhkirah* 150, 2. Beale 69, 3. Bankipur 107.]

B. i. *Qarābādīn* (قرابادین): Bānkīpur 107 (only vol. I.)

ii. *Kitāb fi Ahwālī 'l-ā'ḍā'i 'n-nafīṣah* (الكتاب في احوال الاعضاء النفیسة): Rampur 492.

iii. *Sharḥ Mūjiz* entitled *al-Tuḥṣātu 'l-'Alawiyyah wa 'l-ḥikāmī 'l-'aliyyah* (شرح موجز المسمى بالتحفة العالیة والایضاح العالیة): Ibid 487.

10. Muḥd Ishāq Khān b. Ismā'īl Khān of Delhi (composed in 1182/1768).

[See Maḥbub 495; Bānkīpur 40.]

B. i. *Ghāyatu 'l-fuḥūm fi tadbiri 'l-maḥmūm* (غایة الفهوم في تدبیر المضموم): Bānkīpur 40; Rampur 486.

ii. *Mawāridu 'l-ḥikām fi 'ilāji 'l-amrād minā 'r-ra's wa 'l-qadam* (مراود الحکم في علاج الامراض من الرأس والقدم): Rāmpur 499.

11. *Hakīm* Muḥammad Hāshim b. *Hakīm* Muḥd. Aḥsan b. Muḥd. Afdal (composed in 1184/1770).

B. *Kashfu 'l-ishkālāt, ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-asbāb* (كشف الاشكالات حاشية على شرح الاسباب): Bankīpar iv, 73.

12. *Hakīm* A'ajib b. Mu'alij Khān (in 12th century.)

B. *Hāshiyatu'n-Nafīsī* (حاشية النفيس): Bankīpar 46.

13. *Hakīm* Aḥmad Allah known as *Hakīm* Imam Bakḥsh (composed in 1205/1790).

He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, and was in the service of Raja Tīket Rā'y, Prime Minister of Nawwāb Āṣafu 'd-Dawlah of Oudh.

[Tadhkirah 26]

B. *Tahqīgu 'n-nabī* (تحقيق النبى): Āṣafīyyah ii, 916.

C. i. *Ādābu 'l-Atibbā'* (آداب الاطباء): Tadhkirah 26.

ii. *Sharḥ Ādābi 'l-atibbā'* entitled *Ma'arakatu 'l-ārā'* (شرح آداب الأطباء الموسوم بمعركة الآراء): Ibid.

14. *Hakīm* Muḥd. Ḥusayn Khān (composed in 1208/1793).

B. *Tanqīḥu 'l-asbāb wa 'l-alāmāt* (تنقيح الاسباب , العلامات): Āṣafīyyah ii 918.

15. *Hakīm* Shifā'ī Khān (in the time of Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān of Oudh—1212-1229/1797-1813).

He was the son of *Hakīm* 'Abdu 'sh-Shafī Khān Maṣṭu-'l-mulk and flourished during the reigns of Āṣafu 'd-Dawlah and Sa'adat 'Alī Khān of Oudh.

[Bankīpar iv No. 41]

- B. i. *Sharḥ Kullīyyātī 'l-Qānūn* (شرح کلیات القانون): Bankīpur 41.
 ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'sh-shifā'īyyah* (الفوائد الشفائية): Rāmpur 488; Āṣafiyyah 922.¹
 iii. *Kitābu 'l-Hummayāt* (کتاب الحمیات): Bengāl I, 792.

16. *Ra'isu'l-aṭibbā' Ḥakīm 'Alī Sharīf* of Lucknow (in the time of *Nawwāb Ghāzī* al-Dīn Ḥaydar—1229-1243/1814-1827).

[Bankīpur 85]

B. *Asrāru 'l-'ilāj* (السرار العلاج): Bankīpur 85; Āṣafiyyah² 914; Aligarh 125.³

17. *Ḥakīm Sharīf Khān* b. *Hādhiq al-Mulk Akmal Khān* b. *Wāṣil Khān* of Delhi (1231/1815).

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

- B. i. *Hāshiyatu 'n-Nafīsī* (حاشية النفيسي): Bankīpur 48.
 ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'sh-Sharīfiyyah: Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-asbāb wa 'l-'alāmāt* (الفوائد الشريفة الحاشية على شرح الاسباب و العلامات): Bankīpur 75; Āṣafiyyah ii 920; Bengāl II, 66.
 iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn 'ala 'l-hummayāt* (شرح القانون على الحمیات): Rāmpur 487.
 iv. *Asrāru 'l-'ilāj* (السرار العلاج): Āṣafiyyah ii, 914.

18. *Ḥakīm Muḥammad Mahdī* b. 'Alī Aṣghar b. Nur Muḥammad Khān al-Ḥarawī (1253/1837).

1 In the Āṣafiyyah catalogue title is given as رسالة شفاءني خان (see Ibid ii 922).

2 Here it is wrongly assigned to Mibr 'Alī who is not the author but the person to whom the author dedicated this work.

3 This Catalogue gives تعليقات على حمیات القانون الموسوم بأسرار العلاج والسراج الوهاج as the full title of the work.

He was the Prime Minister of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Ḥaydar, King of Oudh. He built the iron suspension bridge on the Kālnadī at the expense of 70,900 rupees. He was dismissed from his post in 1248/1832 but was reinstated by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh in 1837. After this, he lived only a few months.

[1. Miftāḥu 't-tawārīkh 587, 2. Beale 230.]

B. *Hilyatu 'l-wāṣif in wa wiṣḥāhu 't-tālibin* (حليّة الواصفين و وصائح الطالبين): Bānkīpur 86.

19. *Hakīm* Maṣīḥu 'd-Dawlah 'Alī Ḥasan Khān (in the 13th century).

B. *Risālah fi Jawābi 'l-istiftā' 'an akl bīḍi 'd-dajājah li 'l-majdhūm* (الرسالة في جواب الاستفتاء عن اكل بيض الدجاجة المجذوم): Āṣafiyyah ii 922.

20. *Shaykh* Darwish Muḥammad b. Ḥāfiẓ 'Alīm Khān (in the 13th century).

B. i. *Al-'Ujālatu 'n-Nāfi'ah* (المعجالة النافعة): Āṣafiyyah ii 928.

ii. *Risālah fi 'l-adwiyati 'l-murakkabah* (الرسالة في الأدوية المركبة): Bānkīpur ii, 108 X.

21. *Hakīm* Muḥammad 'Alī of Lucknow (in the 13th century).

B. *Ajwibatu 's-sawālāt* (اجوبة السؤالات): Āṣafiyyah ii 914.

22. *Hakīm* Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Khān b. *Hakīm* Maṣīḥ al-Dawlah of Lucknow (in the 13th century).

A. *Al-Durru 'n-nafīs* (الدر النفيس): Āṣafiyyah ii 922.

A WORK OF UNKNOWN DATE

B. *Mabāḥithu 'l-aṭibbā'* (مباحث الاطباء): Āṣafiyyah ii. 934 by Fathu 'd-Dīn of Gupama'u.

SECTION VIII

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

1. *Qaṭi* Jamālu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad known as Bahraqū 'l-Ḥaḍramī (929/1522).

He was a resident of Ḥaḍramawt (Arabia) and was a scholar and a poet who, going to India joined the court of Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt for whom he composed the undermentioned biography of the Prophet.

[Al-Naru 's-sāfir under the year 929.]

C. *Tabṣīratu 'l-ḥaḍratī sh-shāhiyyati 'l-Aḥmadiyyah bi strate 'l-ḥaḍrate 'n-nabawīyati 'l-Aḥmadiyyah* (تبصرة الحضرة الشاهية الاحمدية بسيرة الحضرة النبوية الاحمدية): Ibid.

2. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍī Khān Maḥmad al-Nahrawālī al-Makki al-Ḥanafī (990/1582).

(For a short biographical note refer to p. 145 *Supra*.)

[1. Al-Naru 's-sāfir under the year 990, 2. Al-Kawākib f. 174, 3. Wüsten 534, 4. Brockelmann ii, 381, 5. Jurji Zaydan iii, 309.]

(For another work, see section IX.)

A. i. *Al-Ilām bi al-'ālamī'l-baladi Allāhi 'l-ḥarām* (الاعلام بالعلام بلد الله الحرام).

MSS. Berlin 6065-6; Goth 1708-9; Paris 1037-42; Bri. Mus. 326-7; Bānkīpur 1088*

(For other MSS. see Brockelmann ii 382).

*Here in the title the word *bayt* is given for the word *balad*,

ii. *Al-Barqu 'l-Yamānī fi 'l-faṭḥ' il-'Uṭhmānī.*

(البرق اليماني في الفتح العثماني).

MSS. Berlin 9742; Gothi 1616; Vienna 977; Paris 1644-50; Bri Mus. 1646; Rieu 588; (for other MSS. see Brockelmann ii 382.)

B. *Muntakhabu 't-ta'rikh fi 't-tarājim* (ملتحب التاريخ في التراجم) : Leid 2010.

3. *Shaykh Zaynu 'd-Dīn al-Ma'barī b. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz* (d. 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV.)

A. *Tuḥfatu 'l-mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين).

MSS. Loth 714; Bri. Mus 94; Morley catalogue of history MSS. 13 (see Brockelmann ii, 416.)

4. *Bahā'u 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn b. 'Ala' al-Dīn* (1014/1605).

He was born at Aḥmadābād in 961/1554. He accompanied his father to Mecca where he received education under his uncle Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī. After completing his education, he was employed as a teacher at the Madrasatu 'l-Murādiyyah. Later on he was appointed *muftī* at Mecca, and about 990/1582 he was made *imām* of the *Ḥaram*. Besides the undermentioned work, he wrote a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukḥārī*, entitled *Al-Nahru 'l-jārī 'alā Ṣaḥīḥi 'l-Bukḥārī* (النهر الجاري على صحيح البخاري).

[See Bānkīpur 1089]

B. *I'lāmu 'l-'ulamā'i-'l-a'lām bi-binā'i 'l-masjadi 'l-ḥarām* (العلماء العلماء ببناء المسجد الحرام) (it is an abridgment of the above mentioned (العلماء بالعلماء ببناء المسجد الحرام) : Bānkīpūr 1089.

5. 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Sirāja 'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Nahrawālī al-Aṣafī al-ulagh-khānī. called Ḥajjī Dabīr (d. after 1020/1611).

(For a short biographical note refer to p. 147 *supra*.)

[Introduction by Sir Denison Ross to the *Zafaru 'l-walīh* Vol. ii pp. xviii—xxvii.]

A. *Zafaru 'l-wālīh bi Muẓaffar wa ālīh* (ظفر الاله بمظفر وآله): edited in 3 Vols. by Sir Denison Ross.

MSS. Calcutta LXXXVI; Kutab-Khānah-i-Ārif Be at Madīnah (see the M'arif of A'ẓamgarī vol. xviii p. 335.)

C. *Fawā'idu 'l-iqbāl wa fawā'idu 'l-intiqāl* (فوائد الاقبال وفوائد الانتقال): see the introduction of the editor to the *Zafaru 'l-walīh* Vol. ii, p. xix.

6. Abu Bakr Muḥyi 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūs of Aḥmadabād (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, sections I, IV, V, X.)

A. *Al-Nūru 's-sāfir fī akhbāri qarni 'l-āshir* (النور السافر في اخبار القرن العاشر).
MSS. Bri-Mus. 937 ; Bānkīpur 659 ; Bahar 273 ; Rāmpur 650 ; Āṣafīyyah i 344, ii 180.

B. i. *Al-Muntakhabu 'l-muṣṭafā min akhbār mawlidī 'l-Muṣṭafā* (المنتخب المصطفى من اخبار مولد المصطفى): Berlin 9635.

ii. *Ithāfu 'l-ḥalrati 'azīzah li 'uyūni 's-sirati 'l-wajīzah* (اتحاف الحرة العزيزة لعيون السيرة الوجيزة): Ibid 9660.

- iii. *Al-Rawḍu 'n-nādir fī man ismuhū*
'*Abdu 'l-Qādir* (الروض النادر في من اسمه عبد القادر): Berlin 9890.
- iv. *Sidqu 'l-wafā' bi ḥaqqi 'l-ikhā'* (مدق الوفاء بهي الحق الاخاء): Ibid 10139.
- v. *Risālah fī Manāqibi 'l-Bukhārī* (الرسالة في مناقب البخاري): Buhār 454.
- vi. *Is'āf ikhwānu 's-ṣafā' bi sharḥ tuḥfati*
'*z-zurafā'* (اسعاف اخوان الصفاء بشرح تحفة الظرفاء): Ibid 201.
- vii. *Mawlidu 'n-Nabī** (مولد النبي): Bengal I, 1025.
- C. i. *Al-Anmūdḥaju 'l-laṭīf fī ahli 'l-Badrī*
'*sh-sharīf* (الانموذج اللطيف في اهل البدر الشريف):
Vide his autobiography in the Nūr.
- ii. *'Iqdu 'l-la'āl bi faḍā'ili 'l-āl* (عقد الال بفضل الال): Ibid.
- iii. *Qurratu 'l-ayn fī manāqibi 'l-wālī*
Muḥammad Ḥusayn (قرة العين في مناقب محمد حسين): Ibid.

7. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Shadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī (1046/1636).

(for another work, see section II.)

- B. *Zakru 'r-riyāḍ wa zulālu 'l-ḥiyāḍ* (ذكر الرياض وزلال الحياض): Būhār 269; Bri-Mus. 365 (only third part); Delhi 1329 (a small portion); Nadhīr Aḥmad 73; (also see Brockelmann ii 416).

8. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī b. Sayfu 'd-Dīn of Delhi (1052/1642).

* Perhaps it is the same work as the above mentioned No. 1.

(For other works of his see sections I, II, IV, V, VI.)

- B. *Takmilah Madārijū 'n-nubuwwah* (تكملة مدارج النبوة): Bengal I, 224.

9. *Shaykh* Muḥammad Wā'iz of Delhi (Composed in 1064/1653).

- B. *Jāmi'u 'l-mu'jizāt* (جامع المعجزات): Āṣafiyyah ii 868.

10. Malik Aḥmad b. al-Malik Pīr Muḥammad al-Faraqī (in the eleventh century A. H.).

He was a zealous Sunni scholar of India who, ordered by his teacher, Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (d. 1067/1657) wrote the undermentioned work to acquaint his co-religionists with the excellent deeds and virtues of the Companions of the Prophet, especially of the first four Caliphs.

[See Bankipur 1047.]

- B. *Zādu 'l-aḥbāb fī manāqibī 'l-aṣḥāb* (زاد الاحباب في مناقب الاصحاب): Bankipūr 1047.

11. Ja'far al-Ṣadiq al-'Aydārūs (compiled in 1107/1705).

- B. *Tuhfatu 'l-aṣfiyā' ta'rib Saḥnati 'l-awliyā' li Dārā shukūh* (تصفه الاصفياء تعريب سفينة الاولياء لدارا شوكه): Rampur 332.

12. Ṣaḍru'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ma'ṣum, commonly called Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣum al-Madanī (1117/1705).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, IX.)

- A. *Sulāfatū 'l-aṣr fī maḥāsini a'yāni 'l-aṣr bi kullī miṣr* (سلافة العصر في محاسن اعيان العصر بكل مصر)
MSS. Bahār 270; Vienna 409; Berlin 7418-9; Bri. Mus. Bri. mus. 1647; Bankipar xii, 795;

Āṣafīyyah i, 338; Bengal I, 494;
Edinburgh 48; As'ad Efendī Āyā 2736.

B. i. *Al-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah fī 't-ṭabaqāti 'l-imāmiyyah minā 'sh-shī'ah* (الدرجات الرفيعة في طبقات الامامية من الشيعة): Berlin 10050.

ii. *Sulwatu 'l-gharīb wa uswati 'l-arīb* (سلوة الغريب واسوة الاريب): Berlin 6146.

13. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf
b. Muḥammad Laṭīf of Lahore (1192/1778).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

C. *Silku 'd-durar li akmalī 'r-rusulī 'l-aṭhar* (سلك الدرر لأكمل الرسل الاطهر): Ḥadā'iq 452.

14. Sayyid Ghulam 'Alī Azād Bilgrāmī (1200/1785).

(For other works of his, see sections II, X, XI.)

A. *Subḥatu 'l-marjān fī āthār Hindūstān* (سبحة المرجان في آثار هندوستان).

MSS. Bankīpur 810; As'ad Āyā 2732;
Calcutta LXXXVIII; Āṣafīyyah i, 198.

15. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Naṣrābadī Shī'ī Mujtahid
(1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections III and V.)

B. *Ithāruta 'l-aḥzān 'ala 'l-qatīlī 'aṭshān* (اثار الحزان على القاتيل العطشان): Bankīpur 1059.

16. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh of
Delhī 1239/1823).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV,
V, VI, IX, X, XI.)

A. *Širru 'sh-shahādatayn* (سر الشهداءتين).*

17. Muḥammad Karāmat 'Alī of Delhi (1248/1832).

A. *Al-Sīratu 'l-Muḥammadiyyah* (السيرة المحمدية)
MS. Āṣafiyyah iv, 380.

B. *Dhaylu 's-Sīrah* (ذيل السيرة): Āṣafiyyah iv 380.

18. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Yamanī al-Shīrwānī (1256/1840).

He came to India, visited several large cities and finally settled at Calcutta. He was a good poet and prose writer. He wrote some panegyrics in the praise of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, ruler of Lucknow.

[1. Tadhkirah 19, 2. Buhār 434.]

(See for other works of his, section X.)

C. *Shamsu 'l-iqbāl fī manāqib malik Bhūpāl*
(شمس الاقبال في مناقب ملك بهوپال): Tadhkirah 19.

19. Muḥammad Bahādur 'Alī Khān (composed about 1253/1837).

B. *Amīru 's-siyar fī ḥāl Khayri 'l-baṣhar*
(امير السیر في حال خير البشر): Rampur 652.

20. Walī Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh Farāngī maḥallī of Lucknow (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI.)

A. *Al-Aghṣānu 'l-arba'ah* (الانصاف الاربعة).

1. Muḥammad Faḍl Haqq of Khayrābad (1278/1861).

* The authorship of this work has been seriously challenged by the Sunnis who hold that this book was written by some shi'i scholar.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI, XI.)

- B. *Risālah fī Ta'rikhī 'l-ghadr* (الرساله في تاريخ الغدر):
Nadhīr Aḥmad 151; 'Aligarh 136.

22. 'Abbās Mirzā b. Sa'īd Aḥmad Ḥusaynī (13th century).

- B. *Al-Ḥiṣnu 'l-matīn fī ta'rikh Oudh* (الحصن المتيقن في تاريخ اوده)
: Bengal ii 104.

WORKS OF DOUBTFUL DATES.

1. Mamluk 'Alī of Delhi.

- B. *Ta'rikh yamanī* (تاريخ يمنى): Bengal D. 20.

2. 'Abud Allah of Aḥmadādādī.

- B. *Rabī'u 'l-qulūb* (ربيع القلوب): Bengal D. 25.

SECTION IX

PHILOLOGY

1. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī (650/1252).

(For other works of his, see sections II, XI.)

- A. i. *Kitābu 'l-Adḍād* (كتاب الاضداد).
MSS. Berlin 7092; Delhi 1281.
- ii. *Kitābu 'dh-Dhi'b*. (كتاب الذئب).
- iii. *Kitāb Yaf'ūl* (كتاب يفعل), see Mu'jam 1209.
- B. i. *Al-'ubābu* 'z-zākhīr wa 'l-lubābu 'l-fākhīr*
(العياب الزاخر, العياب الفاخر): Āyā Ṣafīyah 4702;
Koprılı 1551—3, Cairo iv 175.
- ii. *Al-Takmilah wa 'dh-dhayl wa 's-ṣilah*
(التكملة, الذيل, الصلة): Bri. Mus. p. 27; Ber-
lin 6939; Cairo iv, 167; Koprılı 1522.
- iii. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-'Arūḍ* (المختصر في العروض):
Berlin 7127.
- iv. *Majma'u 'l baḥrayn fi 'l-lughah* (مجمع
البحرين في اللغة): Koprılı 1570.

2. Mu'nu 'd-Dīn 'Imrānī (in the time of Muḥd Tughlaq of Delhi—725-752/1324-1351).

(For another work of his see, section III.)

- C. i. *Hāshiyatu 'l-Miftāḥ* (حاشية المفتاح) see
Nuzhat p. 165 and also Elliot iv, 486.

* Brockelmann wrongly gives its title as *الاداب الزاخر* (see Brock. p. 361).

ii. *Hāshiyatu 'l-Talkhīṣ* (حاشية التلخيص): Ibid.

3. Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III IV, V.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Badī' li Ibn al-Sā'atī* (شرح البديع لابن الساعاتي): 'Āṭif 694; Walī al-Dīn 954; Qilij 301.

4. Sayyid Yūsuf Multānī (790/1388).

(For another work of his see, section III.)

C. *Yūsufi Sharḥ Lubbi 'l-albāb fī 'ilmi 'l-i'rāb* (يوسف في شرح لب الأبواب في علم الأعراب): Tadhkirah 256.

5. Badru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Maḥzūmī al-Iskandarī, known as al-Damāmīnī (827/1424).

(For another work of his, refer to section II.)

A. *Tuḥfatu 'l-gharīb fī sharḥ Mughnī al-labīb* (تحفة الغريب في شرح مغني اللبيب).
MSS. Berlin 6727-8; Loth 967; Leid 217;
Escur 203. Cairo iv 75, Yeni nos. 1088-98;
Ḥamdiyyah 1316; Nur 'Uṭmāniyyah 4606;
Munch 739; Nadwah 672; Āṣafiyyah ii
1644; Aligarh 13. Bānkipur 2120.

B. *Al-Manḥalu's-ṣāfi sharḥu 'l-Wāfi* (المنهل السافي شرح الوافي).
(شرح الوافي): Loth 972; Rampur p. 556.
Bānkipur 2128.

6. Qādī Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zawulī Dawlatabadī (849/1445).

(For other works of his see, sections III, V, X.)

A. *Al-Irshād fī 'n-naḥw* (الإرشاد في النحو): Printed
at Haidarabad.

MSS. Bri. Mus. 525; Loth 974-5; Leyden 232; Khusraw Pāshā 663; Bengal B. 3; Āṣafiyyah ii, 1638; Rāmpūr 525; Peshawar 1275; Buḥar 394; Bānkīpūr 2130-31.

- B. *Al-Sharḥu 'l-Hindī, Sharḥu 'l-Kāfiyah* (الشرح الهندى شرح الكافية): Sulaymāniyyah 936; As'ad Efendī Madrasah 29; Maḥmūd Pāshā ii, 347; Qilij 952; Āyaṣutiyyah 4501; Walī-al-Dīn 2974; Lalāh-lī 4314-6; Damād 1037; 'Abd Allāh 355; Loth 937; Delhi 1166, Berlin 6584-5; Bengal B. 26-27 Rāmpūr 545; Āṣafiyyah 1652.*

7. Sa'du 'd-Dīn of Khayrabād (882/1417).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

- C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Kāfiyah* (الشرح الكافية): Tadhkirah 76.
 ii. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Jāmī* (الشرح الشرح الجامي): Ibid.
 iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Miṣbāḥ* (الشرح المصباح): Ibid.

8. Ṣafī b. Naṣīr b. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn (9th century).

He was a descendant of *Imām* Abu Ḥanīfah. His grandfather Nizāmu'd-Dīn migrated from Ghaznah to Delhi in the time of 'Alā'u 'd-dīn Khiljī and then to Jawāpūr and married his son Naṣīru 'd-Dīn to Qādī Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī's daughter who gave birth to three sons, one of whom is our author. He completed his education under his maternal grandfather. Later on he became a disciple and *Khalīfah* of the saint Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr of Kachhochha. He wrote several books.

* Here التحيق غايه has been wrongly given as the title of this work, or it may be the work of the next scholar.

[1. *Tadhkirah* 96, 2. *Maḥbub* 495, 3. *Buḥār* 382.]

B. *Ghāyatu 't-taḥqīq* (غاية التحقيق) (a commentary on the Dawlat-ābādī's commentary on the *Kāfiyah*): Delhi 1125; Āṣafiyyah 1652; Rāmpar 550; Bengal B. 59; *Buḥār* 382; Bānkipur 2052.

9. *Khawājah Ḥusayn Nāgūrī* (931/1495).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Sharḥu 'l-qismi 'th-thālith min al-Miftāḥ* (شرح القسم الثالث من المفتاح): *Tadhkirah* 50.

10. *Ilāh-dād Jawupūrī* (932/1525).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (حاشية على شرح الجامعي): Ibid 25.

11. *Shaykh Budh Bihārī* (in the time of *Shīr Shāh* Surī—948-952/1542-1545).

He was an eminent scholar and a good physician for whom *Shīr Shāh* had a very high regard.

[*Tadhkirah* 31]

C. *Sharḥu 'l-Irshād* (شرح الإرشاد): Ibid.

12. *Khaṭīb Abu 'l-Faḍl Gazaranī* (959/1551).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Irshād* (شرح الإرشاد): Bānkipur 2132.

13. *Muftī Jamāl Khān* b. Naṣīru 'd-Dīn of Delhi (984/1576).

He was the most eminent scholar and teacher of Kamboh tribe. He is said to have had no match in

jurisprudence, scholastic theology and Arabic literature. In addition to the works undermentioned, he wrote commentaries on the '*Aḍudī* and the '*Anwārū'l-fiqh*.

[1. Badā'ur-r iii, 77, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 211 b, 3. Tadhkirah 44.]

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi l-Jāmī* (حاشية علي شرح الجامي) : see Buhār 388.

NSS. Rāmpur 535; Bahār 388.

14. *Shaykh* Jamālu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭahir Faraqī of Pattan (986/1578).

(For other works of his, see sections II.)

B. *Kifāyatū 'l-Mufrītīn, Sharḥ al-Shāfiyāh* (كفاية المفرطين شرح الشافيه) Āṣatiyyah ii 898.

15. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Nabrawālī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections VIII.)

B. i. *Al-Kanzu 'l-asmā fī fanni 'l-mu'ammā* (الكنز الاسماء في فن المعمى) : Berlin 7346; Escur² 556;

B. ii. *Al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍarah* fī 'l-abyāti 'l-mufradati 'n-nādirah* (التمثيل والمصاحرة في الابهات المفردة النادرة) : Cairo iv, 229; Leid 356.

16. *Makhdumu 'l-Mulk* 'Abd Allah Sulṭānpurī (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

*Brockelmann gives its title as *الامثال السائرة في الابهات* تمثل الامثال السائرة في الابهات also. (See Brockelmann ii, 382.)

- C. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Jāmī* (شرح شرح الجامي):
Ma'āthiru 'l-umarā' iii, 252.

17. Wajibu 'd-Dīn of Gujarāt (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V.)

- B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه على شرح الجامي): Buhār 387; Āyā Ṣafiyah 445i; Maḥmud Pashā ii, 338; Rampar 535; 'Amajah Ḥusayn 408; Bengal I, 310; Delhi 1071; Āṣafiyah i, 1644; Nadwah 684.

- ii. *Sharḥ Irshādi 'n-naḥw* (شرح ارشاد النحو): Loth 976; Rampar 539.

- C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشيه على المطول): Tadhkirah 280.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mukhtaṣari 'l-ma'āni* (حاشيه على مختصر المعاني): Ibid.

18. Ilāh-dād* of Lucknow (10th Century).

He was a scholar of the tenth Century, well-known for his learning and high intellects, and thoroughly qualified in the Muslim jurisprudence and Arabic literature.

[1. Badā'unī iii, 85, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 213 b, 3. Tadhkirah 25.]

(For other works of his, see section X.)

- C. *Qutbī* (قطبي): Badā'unī iii, 85.

*This Ilāh-dād is not to be confused with Ilāh-dād of Jawnpur (d. 932/1525).
(see No. 10 of this chapter.)

19. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī b. Shaykh Mubārak (1104/1595).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. *Duraru 'l-kilām wa timmu. 'l-ḥikam*
(دور الكلام، طم الكلام) : Nadwah 334.

20. Qāḍī Nur Allāh Shuṣṭarī (1011/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, VII.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Hindī* (حاشیه علی شرح
الہندی) : Rampur 536.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Muḥtāṣar fi
'l-ma'ānī wa 'l-bayān* (حاشیه علی شرح
المختصر فی المعانی والبیان) : Kashf.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشیه
علی شرح الجامی) : Ibid.

21. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uṭhmānī,
called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (d. after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his see sections I, II, IV, V,
IX, X.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشیه علی
شرح الجامی) : Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Sharḥ Irshād al-naḥw* (شرح ارشاد النحوی)
Ibid.

22. Hakīm Mīr Hāshim Jīlānī (1061/1650).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII Math.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Mutawwal* (حاشیه علی المطول)
Rampur 562.

23. *Mullā Maḥmūd al-Fāraqī Jawnpurī* (1062/1651).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

- B. *Al-farā'id sharḥu 'l-fawā'id* (الفرائد شرح الفوائد):**
 Delhi 1207; Āṣafīyyah i, 158; Rāmpūr
 567; Bengal H, 19; Bengal II, 486;
 Bankīpur 2193.

24. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI.)

- A. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Muṭawwāl* (حاشية على المطول):**
 MSS. Jami' *Sharīfī* 458; As'ad Efendi
 Madrasah 28; Sulaymāniyyah 887; Maḥ-
 mūd Pashā 331; Qiliḥ 864; Walī-al-Dīn 2770;
 Fātiḥ 4663; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 2972; 'Āṭif 2328;
 Sarwīlī 267; Dāmād Qādī 1599; Ḥamīdiyyah
 1230; 'Abd Allāh 336; Nur 'Uḥmānī 4424-
 25; Loth 876; Delhi 1192; Peshāwar 1161;
 Buhār 403; Bankīpur 2168-72; Nadwah 486.
 (For other MSS. in Europe, see Brockehman
 i, 295.)

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (حاشية على
 شرح الجامي).

MSS. Loth 930-1; Buhār 390; 'Aligarh
 130;

- iii. *Takmilah Hāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr 'alā
 Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (تكملة حاشية عبد الغفور الاري
 علي شرح الجامي) (lithographed at Lucknow
 in 1885).

MSS. Loth 928; Delhi 1055; Bengal
 B. 13; Calcutta LXX; Bankīpur 2057;
 Rāmpūr 536;

- iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abd al-Ghafūr*
'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī (حاشيه علي حاشيه عبدالغفور)
 (على شرح الجامي): see Bānkīpur 2060.
 MSS. Jāmi' Sharifi 538; Qiliḡ 899;
 Sarwīlī 286; Cairo iv, p. 43; Loth 930;
 Bengal B. 22; Āṣafiyyah ii, 1642;
 Calcutta LXXI.

25. *Nuru 'l-Haqq* b. 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqī of Delhi
 (1073/1662).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه علي
 شرح الجامي): Peshāwar 1306; Āṣafiyyah
 ii, 1644.

26. *Mullā 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Jawnpurī* (1083/1672).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

- C. i. *Tadhkiratu 'n-naḥw* (تذكرة النحو): Akhbāru
 'n-nuḥāt p. 125.
 ii. *Bidāyatun 'n-naḥw* (بداية النحو): Ibid.

27. 'Iṣmat Allāh Saharanpurī (1890/1678).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII math-
 section.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه علي شرح
 الجامي): Ismī Khān 377; 'Amujah 407;
 Maḥmūd Pashā ii, 337; Delhi 1065.

28. 'Alī Akbar b. 'Alī of Allahabad (1091/1680).

He was an eminent grammarian. Besides the works
 undermentioned, he also wrote a book in Persian on
 Arabic inflection under the title of *Fuṣūl-i-Akbarī* which

23. *Mullā Maḥmūd al-Fāruqī Jawnpurī* (1062/1651).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

- B. *Al-farā'id sharḥu 'l-fawā'id* (الفرائد شرح الفوائد):**
 Delhi 1207; Āṣafiyyah i, 158; Rāmpūr
 567; Bengal H, 19; Bengal II, 486;
 Bankīpur 2193.

24. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI.)

- A. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية على المطول):**
 MSS. Jami' Sharīfī 458; As'ad Efendī
 Madrasah 28; Sulaymāniyyah 887; Maḥ-
 mūd Pashā 331; Qiliy 864; Walī-al-Dīn 2770;
 Fātiḥ 4563; Āyā Ṣafiyyah 2972; 'Āṭif 2328;
 Sarwīlī 267; Dāmād Qādī 1599; Ḥamīdiyyah
 1230; 'Abd Allāh 336; Nur 'Uḥmānī 4424-
 25; Loth 876; Delhi 1192; Peshāwar 1161;
 Buhār 403; Bankīpur 2168-72; Nadwah 486.
 (For other MSS. in Europe, see Brockehman
 i, 295.)

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (حاشية على
 شرح الجامي).

MSS. Loth 930-1; Buhār 390; 'Alīgarh
 130;

- iii. *Takmilah Hāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr 'alā
 Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (تكملة حاشية عبد الغفور الاري
 على شرح الجامي) (lithographed at Lucknow
 in 1885).

MSS. Loth 928; Delhi 1055; Bengal
 B. 13; Calcutta LXX; Bankīpur 2057;
 Rāmpūr 536;

- iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā hāshiyah 'Abd al-Ghafūr*
'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī (حاشيه علي حاشيه عبد الغفور)
 (على شرح الجامي) : see Bankipur 2060.
 MSS. *Jāmi' Sharifi* 538 ; *Qiliḡ* 899 ;
Sarwīlī 286 ; *Cairo* iv, p. 43 ; *Loth* 930 ;
Bengal B. 22 ; *Āṣafiyyah* ii, 1642 ;
Calcutta LXXI.

25. *Naru 'l-Ḥaqq* b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi
 (1073/1662).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه علي
 شرح الجامي) : *Peshāwar* 1306 ; *Āṣafiyyah*
 ii, 1644.

26. *Mullā 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Jawnpurī* (1083/1672).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

- C. i. *Tadhkiratu 'n-naḥw* (تذكرة النحو) : *Akhbāru*
'n-nuḥāt p. 125.
 ii. *Bidāyatū 'n-naḥw* (بداية النحو) : *Ibid.*

27. 'Iṣmat Allāh Sahāranpurī (1890/1678).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII math-
 section.)

- B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه علي شرح
 الجامي) : *Ismī Khān* 377 ; 'Amajah 407 ;
Mahmud Pashā ii, 337 ; *Delhi* 1065.

28. 'Alī Akbar b. 'Alī of Allahabad (1091/1680).

He was an eminent grammarian. Besides the works
 undermentioned, he also wrote a book in Persian on
 Arabic inflection under the title of *Fuṣūl-i-Akbarī* which

is very popular among the Indian students of Arabic elementary grammar.

- [1. Rieu, Persian ii, p. 552 b. 2. Maḥbūb 422,
3. Bibliotheca Sprenger no. 1369].

A. *Al-Uṣūlu 'l-Akbariyyah* (الاصول الكبرى) :
Bri. Mus.

MSS. Delhi 1001; Rampur 523.

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Uṣūli 'l-Akbariyyah* (شرح الأصول الكبرى) : Bengal B. 44; Calcutta LXXVI ;
Buhār 377 ; Rampur 52 ; Āṣafiyyah i, 892 ;
Bankipur 2137-38.

29. Muḥammad Farīd b. Muḥammad Sharīf Aḥma-
dābādī (in the 11th Century).

Nothing concerning his life seems to be known,
except that he completed the undermentioned work
in 1060/1649.

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية علي المطول) :
Bānkipur 2166.

30. Abu 'l-Labīb 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-
Siyālkutī (in the 11th Century).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā hāshiyah 'Abdī 'l-Ghafūr*
'alā *Sharḥi 'l-Jāmi* (حاشية علي حاشية عبد الغفور على شرح الجامي) : in Bri. Mus.

31. Muḥamad Sharīf Kanbūb (in the 11th Century).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI.)

B. i. *Risālah fi 's-sarf* (الرسالة في الصرف) :
Bānkipur 1779, II.

ii. *Risālah fi 'n-naḥw* (الرسالة في النحو) Ibid
1779, IV.

32. Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ghayth b. Muḡhalṭa'ī (wrote in 1116/1704).

He was in the service of Sultān A'zam Shāh b. Awrangzib and wrote the work undermentioned for him.

[Brockelmann ii, 415]

B. *Mulḡatu 'l- badī' wa bahjatū 'l- badī'* (ملكة البديع و بهجة البديع) : Paris 4431, ii.

33. Muḡammad Ḥusayn entitled Imāmu 'l-Muḡdarisīn (1108/1696).*

He belonged to the tribe called Nawa'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the holy city. His scholarship may be judged from the fact that Awrangzib appointed him as the principal of the well known Madrasah-i-Maḡmad Gāwān at Bedār (Deccan). He composed several works some of which are as follows : 1. ازهار الفاتحه. 2. رسالة ربع مجيب. 3. شرح عقائد اسمعيل المقري. 4. شرح عقيدة عبدالله الياضي. 5. تحبيب الطيب والنساء. 6. حاشية على منعمك. 7. شرح حفرة سيد الانبياء etc. These works are still to be found in the possession of his descendants in the Deccan.

[The periodical Al-Mu'allim of Hyderabad, Vol. V, Nos. 8-9.]

B. *Khulāṣatu 'l-Kāfiyah* (خلاصة الكافية) : in the possession of the author's descendants.

34. Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad. b. Muḡammad Ma'ṣūm Known as Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm (1117/1705).

Information regarding this author and the author No. 47 of this section was kindly supplied to me by the latter's grandson Dr. M. Hamid AḤāb of Hyderabad.

(For other works of his, see section IV, VIII.)

- A. *Anwāru 'r-rabī' fī anwā'i 'l-baḍī'* (أنوار الربيع في أنواع البديع).

MSS. Rieu 990-1; Berlin 7384; Paris 3255; Cario iv, 209; Edinburgh 42; Leyden II ed. 340; Āṣafiyyah i, 144.

- B. *Sharḥ Fawā'id Samā'iyah* (شرح فوائد صديقه) : Āṣafiyyah iv 648.

35. *Mullā Muḥd. Muḥsin Kashmīrī* (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

- C. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية علي المطول) : Tadhkirah 212

36. Sayyid Muḥammad Qannawjī (in the time of Awrangzib 'Ālamgīr—1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was one of the teachers of Awrangzib.

- C. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية علي المطول) : Tadhkirah 83.

37. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb Qannawjī entitled Mun'im Khān (1126/1714).

(For other works of his, see section IV.)

- C. *Miftāḥu 's-ṣarf* (مفتاح الصرف) : Tadhkirah 139.

38. Ghulām Naqshband b. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Shafrī of Lucknow (1126/1714).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

- B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Qaṣīdati 'l-Khazrajiyyah* (شرح القصيدة الخزرجية) : Rampur 572; Nadhīr Aḥmad 97; Nadwah 475;

Bankipur 2213 (II) 14.

- ii. *Risālah fī 'Arūd ahyāti 'l-Muṭawwal*
(الرسالة في عروض أبيات المطول) : Nadwah
579 (2); Āṣafiyyah i, 150.

39. Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tājū 'd-Dīn
Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, known as Fāḍil-i-Hindī (1137/1724).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

- C. i. *Al-Talkhīṣ fī 'l-balāghah* (التلخيص في البلاء)
Nujūm 211.

- ii. *Munyatū 'l-ḥarīṣ Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ*
(منية الحرص شرح التلخيص) : Ibid.

40. Naru 'd-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV,
V, VI.)

- C. i. *Al-Mu'awwal Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭaw-
wal* (المعول حاشية على المطول) : Tadhkirah
248.

- ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على
شرح الجامي) : Ibid.

- iii. *Hāshiyatu 'l-Manhal* (حاشية المنهل) :
Ibid.

41. Muḥammad 'Ala * b. Sh. 'Alī b. Qaṣī Muḥam-
mad Ḥāmid b. Muḥd. Ṣābir al-Farūqī al-Thanawī
(Composed in 1158/1745).

* On the title page of the printed book the name of the author is given as such; but inside the book it appears as 'Alī which is a misprint for A'lā. The former has been adopted by Brockelmann who gives the first word of the title of the book as كشف in place of كشاف and the latter by the editor of the Bankipur Library Catalogue.

[1. Brockelmann ii, 421; 2. Jurjī Zaydan iii, 329, 3 Maḥbub 597.]

A. *Kaṣhshāf iṣṭilāḥāti 'l-funūn* (كشاف اصطلاحات الفنون).

MSS. Rāmpur 513; Bānkipur 2009.

42 *Mullū* 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Qāḍī 'Abd al-Rasul of Aḥmadnagar (composed in 1173/1759).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI)

A. *Dastūru 'l-'ulamā'* (دستور العلماء) printed at Hyderabad.

MS. Bānkipur 2010.

43. Nur Muḥammad Kaṣhmīrī (1185/1780).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): in Bri. Mus.

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية على المطول): Rāmpur 563.

44 Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abd al-Razzāq known as Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (1205/1291).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V.)

A. *Tājū 'l-'Arūs Sharḥu 'l-Qāmūs* (تاج العروس شرح القاموس): for MSS., see Brockelmann ii, 288.

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-maḥtūt fī taḥqīq lafz al-Tābūt* (القول المبتوت في تحقيق لفظ التابوت): Cairo iv, 179.

C. i. *Takmilatu 'l-Qāmūs* (تكملة القاموس): 'Ajā'ibu 'l-aṭṭār etc

ii. *Al-Taftīsh fī ma'nā lufz Durwīsh* (التفتيش في معنى لفظ درویش) : Ibid.

iii. *Al-Munā fī sirri 'l-kunā* (المنى فى سر (الكنى) : Ibid.

iv. *Al-Ta'rif 'bi 'darūriyyāt 'ilmi 't-taṣrīf* (التعريف بضروریات علم التصريف) : Ibid.

45. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj (1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III.)

B. *Sharḥu 'sh-Shāfiyah* (شرح الشافیه) : Buhār 375.

46. 'Alīm Allāh b. Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Qannawjī (a pupil of the above mentioned scholar).

(For another work of his, see section II.)

B. *'Aynu 'l-hudā sharḥ Qaṭrī** 'n-nadā (عين الهدى شرح قطر الندى) : Nadwah 672.

47. Muḥammad Ghawṭh Shārafu 'l-mulk b. Nizām al-Dīn (1238/1822).†

He belonged to the tribe, called Nawa'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjaj b. Yūsuf sacked the holy city. His father wrote the history of Hyderabad in Arabic entitled وقائع نهضة ناصر جنگ و مجيئه لادفع فساد المظفر الطائي في ديار التلک

*The text is by Jamālu 'd-Dīn 'Abid Allāh Yūsuf Ibn Hishām al-Nhawī (761/1359).

†Information regarding this author and the author No. 36 of this section was kindly supplied to me by the former's grandson Dr. M. Hamīd Allāh of Hyderabad.

He himself was a great author and composed many works, of which the most important is *تتو لمر جان في رسم* which has been published in seven vols at Hyderabad. His other works are: 1. *فوائد صبغية شرح الفرائض السراجية* 2. *كفاية المبتدئ في فقه الشافعي* 3. *سواطع الانوار في معرفة اوقات الصلوة والا سكار* 4. *مسائل في فقه الشافعي* 5. *زجاج الارشاد الي اهل دار الجهاد* 6. *نهر الفوائد و بحور الفوائد في* 7. *دلائل البركات شرح دلائل الخيرات* 8. *الفرائض* etc.

[Ta'rikhu 'n-Nawa'it by 'Aziz Jang of Hyderabad.]

(For other works of his, see sections X, XI.)

B. i. *Ta'liqāt 'alā Sharḥ Qaṭri 'n-nadā* (تعليقات على شرح قطر الندي) in the possession of his descendants.

ii. *Kāfi Mukhtaṣaru 'l-Kāfiyah* (كافي مختصر) : Ibid.

iii. *Shāfi Sharḥu 'l-Kāfi fi 'n-naḥw* (شافعي) : Ibid.

vi. *Hawāshī 'alā Qāmūsi 'l-Firūzābādī* (حواشي) : Ibid.

48. *Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz b. Shāh Walī Allah Dihlawī* (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, X.)

B. *I'jāzu 'l-balāghah* (اعجاز البلاغة) : Rampur 559.

49. *Faḍl Imām Khayrābādī* (1243/1827).

(For another works of his, see sections VI.)

B. *Risālah fi 'n-Naḥw* (الرسالة في النحو) : Delhi 1082.

50. Muḥammad Irtidā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān of Gupāma'n (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VI.)

- A. *Al-Nafā'isu 'l-Irtidā'iyyah fī sharḥi 'r-risālati 'l-'azīziyyah* (نفائس الارتدائية في شرح الرسالة) (العزيزية) : see Āṣafiyyah iii, 70.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. Sirāju 'd-Dīn Awadhī

B. *Hidāyatul 'n-naḥw* (هداية النحو) : Rāmpur 557.

2. Shaykh Muḥammad known as Salīm b. Al-Ja'farī of Jawnpur.

B. *Al-Mizān fī 'ilmay al-'arūd wa 'l-qawāfī* (الميزان في علمي العروض والقوافي) : Rāmpur 573.

3. Qāḍī Ghulām Muḥammad of Lahore.

B. *Hawāshī Anwār al-jawā'id 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abdī 'l-Ghāfir* (حواشي انوار الفوائد على حاشية) (عبد الغفور) : Peshāwar 1313.

4. Mas'ūd-i-Multānī.

B. *Al-Shamsiyyah Sharḥ Mi'atah 'āmil* (الشمسية) (شرح مائة عامل) : Rāmpur 546.

5. Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Ḥasanī of Nagrām.

B. *Nādiru 'l-bayān fī 'n-naḥw* (نادر البيان في النحو) : Edinburgh 37.

6. Sharafu 'd-Dīn of Rāmpur.

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Kāfiyah* (حاشية على الكافية) : Delhi 1167.

SECTION X

ORNATE PROSE AND BELLES LETTERS.

1. Muḥamad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Bukhārī, styled *Sultānu 'l-Maḥā'ikḥ* and Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Awliya' (725/1324).

He was one of the most celebrated Muslim saints of India. His grandfather migrated from Bukhārā to Lahore and then to Badā'un where he was born in the month of Ṣafar, 634 (October, 1236). After completing elementary education he, while twelve years old, went to Delhi and studied literature and *Ḥadīth* under Shamsu 'l-mulk who was a distinguished scholar of the age. He took so much interest in polemic discussions that he won the title of *baḥḥāth* (a great debator) from his fellow students. When he was twenty years old, he went to Shaikh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shakarganj and entering into the circle of his disciples, later on became his *khalīfah*. Then he returned to Delhi, where his reputation as one of the greatest Muslim saints knew no bound. He died on the 17th of Rabī'u-l awwal, 725 A.H. (April 3, 1325 A. D.). Amīr Khusraw, the greatest Persian poet of India, was one of his disciples.

[1. Akhbār 54, 2. Firishtah ii, 730, 3. Safīnatu' l-Awliya' 97, 4. Ḥada'iq, 5. Tadhkirah 240, 6. Beale 302.]

A. *Khutbatu 'l-Jumu'ah* (خطبة الجمعة).

2. *Qāḍī Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zawulī Dawlatābadī* (849/1445).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, IX.)

- A. *Muṣaddiqu 'l-faḥl sharḥ Qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād* (مصدق الفضل شرح قصيدة بانة سعاد) : printed at Hyderabad, Deccan.

3. Ilāh-dād of Lucknow (10th Century).

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

- C. i. *Risālah bi ṭarīqi 'l-jadwal* (رساله بطريق الجدول) : Bada'unī iii, 85.
ii. *Qayṭūn* (قيطون) : Ibid.

4. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭarī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, IX.)

- C. i. *Kunūzu 'l-asrār fī sharḥ ash'ūri 'l-Shaṭṭār* (كنوز الاسرار في شرح اشعار الشطار) : Tadhkirah 135.
ii. *Hadā'iqu 'l-inshā'* (حدائق الانشاء) : Ibid.

5. 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydārūs Aḥmadābādī (1035/1625).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VIII.)

- B. i. *Al-Makātīb* (المكاتيب) : Delhi 1272 ; Berlin 8633.
ii. *Faṭḥu 'l-Jawād fī sharḥ qaṣīdati 'Abdī 'l-Hādī* (فتح الجواد في شرح قصيدة عبد الهادي) : Būhar 432.
iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Qaṣīdati 'n-nūniyyah li Abi Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydārūs* (شرح القصيدة النونية لابي بكر بن عبد الله العيدروس) : Būhar 433 ; Berlin 4012.

6. 'Abd Allāh b. Jum'ah al-Lahurī al-Hindī
(composed in 1122/1710).

B. *Mubhij li 'n-nufūs wa mubliju 'l-'abūs fi nawādir 'l-hikāyāt wa gharā'ibi 'l-musāmarāt*
(مبهج للنفوس و مبلج العيوس في نوادر الحكايات و غرائب
المسامرات) : Pet. Ros. 112. (See Brockelmann
ii, 416.)

7. Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin al-Bā'badī al-
'Alawī (composed in 1128/1715).

Concerning the author, nothing could be known except that he was an 'Arab and lived for a considerable time in India. The Chronogram at the end indicates that the undermentioned work was completed in 1128/1715.

A. *Al-Maqāmātu 'l-Hīndiyyah* (المقامات الهندية).

MSS. Āṣafiyyah ii, 1524; Buḥar 442; Peshawar 1195; Rāmpūr 619.

8. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī b. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Waṣīṭī (1338/1725).

(For other works of his, see section VI, X.)

B. *Al-Hikamu 'l-'irfāniyyah* (الحكم العرفانية) :
Nadhīr Aḥmad 99.

9. Muḥammad 'Ābid of Lahore (1160/1747).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād* (شرح قصيدة بانة)
(سواد) : Tadhkirah 202.

10. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called *Shah* Walī Allāh
b. 'Abdī 'r-Raḥīm of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, XI.)

A. *Khutbatu 'l-Jumu'ah* (خطبة الجمعة).

11. Sayyid Muḥammad Bilgrāmī b. Sayyid 'Abdi 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1185/1771).

He was the maternal uncle of S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād. Born in 1101/1592, he completed his education under his father and Sayyid Tufayl Muḥammad and was well-versed in Arabic literature. He made the undermentioned selection in 1155/1742.

[1. Ma'āthir 293, 2 Subḥah 87, 3. Abjad 909, 4 Tadhkirah 83, 5 Hayat-i-Jalīl by S. Maqbūl Aḥmad Samdānī, 6. Āzād 53.]

C. *Al-Juz'u 'l-aṣḥraf minā 'l-Mustatraf* (الجزء الاشرف من المستطرف) : Ma'āthir 296.

12. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (1200/1786).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VIII, XI.)

B. i. *Shifā'u 'l-'alīl fī iṣlāḥ kalāmi 'l-Mutanabbī* (شفاء العليل في اصلاح كلام المتنبى) Nadhīr Aḥmad 101.

ii. *Kashkūl* (كشكول) : Āṣafīyyah iii, 642, Nādwah (n).

C. *Ghizlānu 'l-Hind* (غزلان الهند) : Abjad 921.

13. Muḥammad Ghawth Sharafu 'l-Mulk b. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (1238/1822).

(For other works of his, see sections IX, XI.)

B. *Sharḥ Bānat Su'ād* (شرح قصيدة بانث سعاد) : in the possession of his descendants,

14. Muḥammad Baqir *al-mutākhallis bi-Āgah* of Madras (1220/1805).

His parents were residents of Bijāpur ; but he was born at Ellora in 1158/1745 and was brought up in the city of Madras. Having completed his education under Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Qarnī, he distinguished himself in Arabic Literature and versification. He was a younger contemporary of Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, rightly known as Ḥasānu 'l-Hind, of whose poetry he was a great critic. In addition to the works, mentioned below, he is reported to have been the author of several works, namely, *Tanwīru 'l-baṣīr* (تنوير البصر), *Nafā'isu 'n-nikāt* (نفائس النكات) *Al-Qawlu 'l-mubīn* (القول المبين), *Al-Durru 'n-nafīs* (الدر النفيس), *Kaṣḥfu 'l-ghītā'* (كشف الغطاء), *Ithāfu 's-sūlik* (انكاف السالك), *Jalā'iru 'l-baṣā'ir* (جلائر البصائر) *Tabyīnu 'l-inṣāf* (تبیین الانصاف) *al-Nuqūlu 'l-badī'ah* (النقول البديعة), *al-Hujjatu 'l-badī'ah* (الحجة البديعة), *Riyādu 'l-jinān* (رياض الجنان), *Rawḍatu 'l-islām* (روضة الاسلام) etc.

[1. Beale 36, 3. Tadhkirah 188, 3. Qamūs al-a'lām 83. 4. His biography entitled Baqir Āgah by Muḥd. Murtaḍā.]

(For other works of his, see section XI.)

B. *Īrādāt Muḥd. Bāqir 'alā Kalām Āzād*
(ایرادات باقر علی کلام آژاد) : Nadwah (n).

C. i. *Maqāmātu 'sh-Shamāmati'l-Kāfūriyyah fi waṣfi 'l-ma'ābidati 'l-Illūriyyah (Ellora)*
(مقامة الشامات الكافورية في وصف المعابد الاوربية) : his biography.

ii. *Maqāmātu 'l-Khaṭṭaṭi' l-'uqābiyyah li 'l-fa'rati 'l-miskīnah* (مقامة الخطاط العقابي الفارة المسكينه) : Ibid.

- iii. *Al-Maqāmatu 'l-Arkātiyyah*: (المقامة الركائيه)
Ibid.
- iv. *Shamā'imū 'sh-shamā'il fi nizāmi 'r-rasā'il*
(شمائم الشمال في نظام الرسائل) : Ibid.
- v. *Al-Maqāmatu 'l-Haydarūbādiyyah* (المقامة
الحيدرآباديه) : Ibid.

15. Shah 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz b. Shah Walī Allah Dihlawī (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI.)

- B. i. *Al-Makātīb* (المكاتيب) : Delhi 1297.
- ii. *Sharh Urjūzatu 'l-Aṣma'i* (شرح أرجوزة الاصمعي) : Rāmpur 596.

16. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd (1246/1830).

He was a great saint scholar of Rai Bareli and a *Khalīfah* of Shah 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz Dihlawī. In 1237/1821, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah. On return from the pilgrimage he left his native place for the Punjab raging a religious war there against the Sikhs. He met his sacred end in 1246/1830.

[1. Ithāf 416, 2. Abjad 916, 3. Beale 354, 4. Tadhkirah 81.]

- B. *Murāsālāt* (مراسلات). Bri. Mus. Descriptive list p. 14.

17. Shah Muḥd. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī Dihlawī (1246/1830).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V.)

- A. *Majmū'atu 'l-Khutab* (مجموعة الخطب). Bri. Mus.

18. Shāh Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI, XI.)

B. *Ruqqa 'āt* (رقت) : Delhi 1297.

19. Rashīdu 'd-Dīn Khān of Delhi (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

A. *Al-Makātīb* (المكاتيب) : Āṣafīyyah i, 112; MS. Delhi 1297.*

20. Aḥmad b. Muḥd al-Yamanī al-Shirwānī (1256/1840).

(For another work of his, see section VIII.)

A. i. *Nafḥatu 'l-Yaman fī-mā yazūl bi-dhikrihi 'sh-shujān* (نفحة اليمن فيما يزول بذكره الشجن).

ii. *'Ajabu 'l-'ujāb bi-mā yutīdu 'l-kuttāb* (عجب العجاب بما يفيد الكتاب).

MSS. Aligarh p. 78, 127.

iii. *Al-Manāqibu 'l-Haydariyyah* (المناقب الكيدريه).

iv. *Al-Jawḥaru 'l-waqqād fī sharḥ qasīdah Bānat Su'ād* (الجوهر الوقاد في شرح قصيدة بانث سعاد) : Bri-Mus.

MS. Būhar 434.

21. Muḥammad Laṭīf (1267/1850).

[Tajallī 128].

C. i. *Al-Hikāyāt bi 'l-'Arabiyyah* (الحكايات بالعربية) : Ibid.

* Here the title is given as رقت.

- ii. *Tatmīm ta'rib Tūtī-nāmah* (تتميم تعريب طوطي نامه) : Ibid.

22. Rida Ḥasan Khān b. Amīr Ḥasan Khān Kākori (composed in 1964/1847).

Born in 1246/1830, he completed his education while he was 18 years old. He was chiefly interested in Arabic literature.

[Tadhkirah 63.]

(For another work of his, see section XI.)

- C i. *Maṭāriḥu 'l-adhkiyā* (مطاريح الاذكيا) Ibid.
 ii. *Sharḥ Anmūdhuji 'l-kamāl* (شرح انمودج الكمال) Ibid.

23. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Shāhjahānpurī (1276/1859).

A. *Riyādu 'l-Firdaws* (رياض الفردوس): Bri Mus.

24. Muḥammad Shakūr (born in 1211-1796).

[Tajallī 127.]

- C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Maqāmātī 'l-Hindiyyah* (شرح المقامات الهندية) : Ibid.
 ii. *Ta'rib Tūtī-nāmah* (تعريب طوطي نامه) : Ibid.

SECTION XI

POETRY

1. Mas'ud b. Sa'd b. Salman Lāhūrī generally known as Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (515/1121).

His grand father was a native of Hamadhān. His father migrated to Lahore during the Ghaznawid period and joined the service of the Ghaznawid *Sultān* Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ud (451-492/1059-1099). Our poet who was a distinguished scholar was attached to the son of *Sultān* Ibrāhīm. But he was imprisoned for about 20 years in the castle of Nāy by command of *Sultān* Ibrāhīm who suspected him of intriguing with the Saljuq king Malik-*Shāh*. He died in imprisonment. As a poet of Persian he was held in great esteem by men of letters and poets of distinction. Apart from Persian, he composed verses in Arabic and Hindi also. All his biographers have mentioned that he was an author of three *diwāns* in Persian, Arabic and Hindi one in each. But unfortunately only his Persian *dīwān* has come to us.

[1. Lubabu 'l-albab ii, 246, 2. Tadhkirah-i-Dawlat *Shāh*, 3. Subhah 26, 4. Abjad 890, 5. Tadhkirah 226, 6. Browne's Literary History of Persian ii, 324, 7. J.A.R.S for 1905 (pp. 693-740) and for 1906 (pp. 11-51), 8. Āzād 5.]

C. *Diwān* (الديوان بالعربية).

2. Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥd. b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī (50/1252).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Ta'zīz baytay al-Harīri* (تعزیز بیتي الحریری) :
Berlin 7756.

3. *Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir b. Qāḍī Rukni 'd-Dīn al-Kindī al-Dihlawī* (791/1388).

He was a *Khalīfa* of *Shaykh* Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmad Awadhī and a teacher of *Qāḍī* *Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatabādī*.* He was well-versed in Arabic literature and composed very elegant odes and panegyrics in that language. The undermentioned panegyric which he composed in the imitation of the *Lāmiyatu 'l-'Arab* is one of his master pieces.

[1. *Akhbār* f. 147, 2. *Ṭabaqāt* f. 19, 3. *Ma'āthir* 183, 4. *Subḥah* 29, 5. *Abjad* 892, 6. *Ḥada'iq* 299, 7. *Tadhkirah* 133, 8. *Āzād* 11.]

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-lāmiyyah* (القصيدة اللامية), (some introductory couplets are cited in the *Akhbār* and some of the subsequent books).

4. Aḥmad Ṭaḥneswarī (d. in the early part of the 9th century).

He was a distinguished scholar and a talented poet and was a disciple of *Shaykh* Maḥmad Naṣīru 'd-Dīn entitled *Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī*. During the invasion of Delhi by Timur, members of his family were arrested by the invader's men; but when Timur heard of his intellectual and spiritual excellences he showed him great honour and entered him into his circle. After Timur's return from India, our poet migrated to Kalpi where he peacefully passed his remaining life in teaching.

* For a short account of his life, refer to p. 167 *Supra* and for his work, refer to Sections III, V, IX, X.

[1. *Akhbār* f. 142, 2. *Ṭabaqāt* 23, 3. *Ma'aṭhir* 186, 4. *Subḥah* 37, 5. *Abjad* 892, 6. *Ḥadā'iq* 313, 7. *Tadhkirah* 18, 8. *Āzād* 13.]

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'd-dāliyyah* (القصيدة الدالية) : (the *Akhbār*, the *Subḥah* etc. contain some introductory lines of this poem.)

5. *Shaykh* 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Muttaqī b. Ḥusāmī 'u-Dīn of Burhānpar (975/1567).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV.)

B. *Nazmu 'd-durar** (نظم الدرر) : *Āṣafiyyah* ii, 1526 ; Bengal i, 1054.

6. Muḥammad b. 'Abdī 'l-'Azīz al-Ma'barī of Kalīkot in Mālābar (10th century).

(For a short note on him, refer to page 208 *supra*).

B. *Al-fathu 'l-mubīn li 's-Sāmīrī alladhī yuḥibbu 'l-Muslimīn* (الفتح المبين للسامري الذي يحب المسلمين) : Loth 1044, vi.

7. *Shaykh* Fuḍayl b. Sh. Jalāl Waṣīl of Kalpī (in the tenth century).

He was a master of Arabic literature and a poet. In addition to the panegyrics and odes, he also wrote a review of Fayḍī's *Sawāfi'u 'l-ilhām* in Arabic prose and verse.

[*Tadhkirah* 165.]

C. *Al-Qaṣā'id* (القصائد) Ibid.

8. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm Dihlawī (1131/1718).

*Since putting this work under this section on poetry, I have come to this conclusion that it is in prose and not in poetry and so its right place is in section iv on p. 299 along with other works of the same author.

He was a descendant of 'Umar Fārūq, the second caliph, and the father of the celebrated Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī.

[1. Ḥayāt-i-Walī by Muḥd. Raḥīm Bakhsh, 2. Tadhkirah 119.]

B. *Al-Qiṭ'ah 'ala 'n-nafs* (القطعة على النفس بجواب أبي): Delhi 308.

9. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1138/1725).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, X.)

C. *Al-Qaṣā'id* (القائد) Subḥān 79.

10. 'Alī Aṣghar b. 'Abdi 'ṣ-Ṣamād Qannāwī (1140/1727).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-Mīmiyyah fi 'n-nafaḥāti 'l-Muḥammadiyyah* (القصيدة الميمية في النفحات): Tadhkirah 141.

11. Ḥabīb 'Abd Allāh (in the time of Farrukhsiyar of Delhi—1124-1131/1713-1719).

B. *Dīwān* (ديوان حبيب عبد الله): *Āṣafiyyah* i, 700.

12. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called, Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, X.)

A. *Aṭyabu 'n-naghām fi madḥ Sayyidi 'l-'Arab wa 'l-'ajam* (أطيب النغم في مدح سيد العرب والعجم): lithographed at Murādabād containing one *qaṣīdah* known as القصيدة البائية

accompanied by a Persian commentary by the author himself.

MS. Delhi 1273.

B. *Dīwān* (ديوان شاه ولي الله): Nadwah 358.

13. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (1200/1786).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VIII, X.)

A. i. *Dīwān-i-Āzād* (ديوان آزاد): see Mu'jam p. 1.

MSS. 3 parts at Āṣafiyyah i, 696; one part at Bri. Mus. OR. 8269 (not yet catalogued); Rāmpur 586; the 8th Diwan at Kutub-Khānah 'Ārif Beg of Madīnah (see the Ma'arīf of A'zamgarh vol. xviii, p. 339); the seven *dīwāns* entitled (السبعة السباسة) at Nadwah (n) 16; for an autographic copy of the same, see Nadhīr Aḥmad 152.

ii. *Mukhtārāt dīwān Āzād* (مختارات ديوان آزاد): Āṣafiyyah iv, 280.

iii. *Mir'ātu'l-Jamāl* (مرآت الجمال): see Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥason's *Nashwatu's-Sakarān*.

B. i. *Mazharu 'l-barakāt* (مظهر البركات): Miftāḥ 1838; Nadwah 334.

ii. *Tasliyatū 'l-fu'ād* (تسليّة الفؤاد): Kutub Khānah 'Ārif Beg of Madīnah (see above).

14. Muḥammad Baqir *al-Mutakhallīṣ bi Āgah* (1220/1805).

(For other works of his, see sections X.)

C. i. *Diwān* (ديوان) : Tadhkirah 188.

ii. *Tilka 'asharah kāmīlah* (تلك عشرة كاملة بجواب السبعة المعلقة) : his biography.

iii. *Al-Nafḥatu 'l-'anbariyyah fī midḥati Khayri 'l-bariyyah* (النفحة العنبرية في مدحة خير البرية) : Ibid.

15. Muḥammad Ghawṭh Sharafu 'l-Mulk b. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (1238/1822).

(For other works of his, see sections IX, X.)

B. *Urjūzah fī alqāb ḥadrat 'Alī* (ارجوزة في القاب) : in the possession of his descendant.

16. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Wālī Allāh of Delhi' (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X.)

B. *Al-Taḍmīn 'alā qasīdati aw qit'ati abīh* (التضمين على قصيدة أو قطعة أبيه) : Delhi 895.

17. Shāh Muḥammad Rafī'u 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Wālī Allāh Dihlawī (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI, X.)

B. i. *Al-Taḍmīn 'alā qasīdati abīh* (التضمين على قصيدة أبيه) : Delhi 308.

ii. *Al-Taḍmīn 'alā qasīdati jaddih 'alā 'n-nafs* (التضمين على قصيدة جده على النفس) : Ibid.

18. Muḥammad Salīm (1266/1849).

[Tajallī 129].

C. *Al-Qaṣṣā'id* (القصاص بالعربية): Ibid.

19. Fayḍ Aḥmad b. *Hāfiẓ* Ghulam Aḥmad b. Shamsur 'd-Dīn Badā'unī (1244/1857).

He was born in 1223/1808 and completed his education under his own maternal uncle *Shāh* Faḍl Rasūl Badā'unī and was a disciple of his maternal grandfather *Shāh* 'Abdu 'l-Majīd. Besides the work mentioned below, he wrote marginal notes on the *Ṣadrā* (حاشية على الصدر) and on the *Fuṣūṣ* (حاشية على الفصوص). He was a poet and composed verses in Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

[Tadhkirah 165]

C. *Diwān* (الديوان بالعربية): Ibid.

20. Ridā Ḥasan Khān b. Amīr Ḥasan Khān Kakarī composed about 1264/1847).

(For other works of his, see sections X.)

C. *Anmūdḥaju 'l-kamāl* (انمودج الكمال): Tadhkirah 65.

21. Muḥammad Faḍl Ḥaqq b. Faḍl Imām Khayrabādī (1278/1861).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI, VIII.)

B. *Majmū'atu 'l-qaṣṣā'id* (مجموعة القصائد): Rampur 615.

22. *Hāfiẓ* Ghulam Ḥusayn of Rāmpur.

B. *Al-Qaṣṣā'idatu 'l-madḥiyyah* (القصيدة المدحية): Rampur 610

[END]

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line				
15	4	Add	'Alī	before b. Aḥmad	
15	28	Read	أحمد	for	أمانه
23	2	"	'Aḥ	"	'tā
31	24	"	says	"	say
36	18	"	the	"	these
43	30	"	Hişkafi	"	Khafşaki
47	15	"	ward	"	wardi
56	Between lines 6 & 7 add '(a) Text Books' as a sub-heading.				
73	31	Read	Six	for	Two
75	24 & 25	'Him' and 'His' should be with small h.			
79	26	Read	Lām	for	Alif
89	23	Add	'Nāṣir' after 'Muḥammad'.		
99	14	Read	1119/1707	for	1191/1777
105	18	"	Al 'Imrān	"	al-'Imrān
119	21	"	Rāzī	"	Rāzī
122	13	"	Mashshā'un	"	Mashaha'un
128	19 & 20	'him' should be with the capital H.			
131	19	Read	fully	for	full
140	15	Delete	'who received.....Aurangzib'		
145	18	Read	Muḥammad b.	for	Aḥmad b.
163	9	"	wa	"	fi
177	33	"	the	"	he
178	17	"	انجماً	"	انجماً
179	16	"	کاري	"	کار
182	23	"	حبدا	"	جندا
210	7-8	"	Fort Sitārah	"	'for al-Sitārah'
234	9	Add	V after IV.		
239	31	Read	13 96	"	1369
239	33	"	1397	"	1357
242	24	"	V, VI	"	IV, V
248	29	"	1823	"	1828
254	15	Add	after the bracket 'See section IX Also.'		
255	12	"	IV after III.		
258	4	'ibn' should be with the capital I.			
277	27	Add	after the bracket 'See section III also.'		
263	7	Read	Shāh	for	Qādi
263	26	"	V	"	III
267	30	"	'z-zākhīrah	"	'dh-dhakhīrah
269	29	"	him	"	his
273	16	"	V	"	VI

Page	Line	
275	9	<i>Add</i> 'India Office 1703' after 167.
281	14	„ after the bracket 'See section VI also.'
285	15	<i>Read</i> VII for VIII
285	18	„ 10th „ 12th
288	8	„ pupil of „ 'b.'
288	15	<i>Add</i> VIII after V.
289	25	<i>Read</i> <i>Shāh</i> „ Muḥammad b.
291	29	„ <i>thiqat</i> „ <i>thiqat</i>
317	10	„ 1823 „ 1828
318	14	„ VIII „ VII
323	6	„ Wajih „ Wajib
327	22	<i>Add</i> after the Bracket 'Peshāwar 794.'
331	10	<i>Read</i> VI for IV
334	23	„ <i>Nafahātī</i> „ <i>Nafḥatī</i>
339	1	„ <i>Mizān</i> „ <i>Nizām</i>
349	8	„ Mir Hāshim Jilānī „ Mir Hāshim b... Afḡal.
349	13	<i>Add</i> after 'Farḥat' '75'
349	Between lines 13 & 14, <i>add</i> 'See sections VIIA and IX also.'	
352	26	<i>Read</i> sections I & V for section V.
355	25	„ „ IX, X „ X.
360	17	„ 12th century „ 1200/1785
364	9	<i>Add</i> 'Akmal Khān b. Ḥakīm' before Wāsil.'
382	Between lines 24 & 25 <i>add</i> 'See section XI also.'	
384	3	<i>Read</i> 'ulwiyyah for 'ulaviyyah.
395	20	„ 1695 for 1707
400	15	„ A. i. for A.
400	Between lines 21 and 22, <i>add</i> :—	
	'ii. تعليق الفوائد على تسهيل الفوائد وتكميل المقاصد'	
407	19	<i>Read</i> 1090 for 1890
413	12	„ 'Alimu 'd-Dīn for 'Alīm Allāh.
419	24	<i>Delete</i> this line.
423	After the last line <i>add</i> 'See section VII also.'	
430	4	<i>Read</i> 1274 for 1244.
433	25	<i>Add</i> after Rāmpūr '(13th century.)'

یوسف بن سید جمال الحسینی

ملتان ۲۴۸-۲۰۰۰-

یوسف نقشبندی-۳۱۹-

ہاشم جلیانی - ۳۴۹-۲۴۸- ہود-۱۵۳۰-

۲۰۰۵

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۴۴ (HARRINGTON)

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یحییٰ مدنی-۳۱۲-

ہمایوں-۱۵۳-۱۴۲-۲۴۳-

یعقوب کشمیری-۳۰۵-

ہنری کلرک (HENRY)

یوسف احمد آبادی-۳۳۲-

۴۴- CLERK)

تمام شد

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نظام الدین احمد - ۱۵۸	نور الحق بن عبدالحق حق دہلوی	ابراہیم الزبیدی - ۱۸۰
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۲۸۷ - ۳۳۷ - ۳۴۳ -	محمود بن محمد "شاہ گجرات"	سعود بن سعد بن سلمان -
محمد محسن - ۳۲۷ -	محمود بن محمد الجعفی الخوارزمی -	۲۰۲ - ۲۰۳ - ۲۲۲ -
محمد محسن کشمیری - ۹۹ - ۲۷۹ -	۱۳۶ -	مسعود ثنائی - ۴۱۵ -
۳۲۹ - ۴۱۰ -	محمود شاہ ثنائی "شاہ گجرات" - ۱۵۳ -	مسعودی - ۱۷۲ - ۱۷۴ -
محمد مرقزی (مرقزی زبیدی)	محمود الفاروقی جونپوری - ۳۲۹ -	مسیح الدولہ - ۳۹۰ -
محمد مبین بن ملا محمد مبین لکھنوی -	محمی الدین (عبدالقادری عیدروس)	مصطفی بن محمد سعید - ۳۲۲ - ۳۲۴ -
۳۶۹ -	محمی الدین عبدالقادری بن محمد البطری	۲۲۳ -
محمد ممدی بن علی اصغر بن نور محمد	۱۸۰ -	مصطفی خاں - ۳۷۷ -
خاں - ۳۸۹ - ۴۱۱ -	مخدوم ضیاء الدین (ضیاء الدین)	مصلح الدین نازی الانصاری -
محمد ناصر علی بن حیدر علی غیاث پوری	مخدوم الملک - ۹۹ - ۲۷۳ - ۳۰۰ -	۳۴۶ -
۲۱۸ -	۳۲۲ - ۳۲۳ - ۴۰۲ -	منظر حسین خاں بن حکیم مسیح الدولہ -
محمد داغ دہلوی - ۳۹۵ -	مخدوم الملک عبداللہ سلطان پوری -	۳۹۰ -
محمد وحید الدین حیدر آبادی -	(مخدوم الملک)	منظر شاہ "شاہ گجرات" -
۳۱۸ -	سلطان مراد - ۱۳۶ -	۱۵۱ - ۱۵۲ -
محمد ولی بن داغ علی خاں -	مرادی - ۳۸ -	منظر شاہ ثنائی "شاہ گجرات" -
۳۷۴ -	المرقزی - ۳۹۵ -	۱۵۳ - ۳۹۱ -

محمد راد الحنفی القادری الشافعی	محمد صدیق لاہوری بن محمد ضیف	محمد علی فاروقی تھانہ بھونی - ۱۷۶
البرقانی - ۳۸۶	بن محمد لطیف - ۱۹۱ - ۳۳۳	محمد علی کرمانی - ۳۳۳
محمد الدین المعروف بہ بوہن بن عبداللہ	محمد طفیل - ۷۵۹	محمد علی لکھنوی - ۳۹۰
بہاری (بوہن بہاری)	محمد طاہر - ۳۳۲	محمد علی مبارکی جونپوری - ۳۵۹
محمد رشید الدین - ۸۱	محمد عابد بن احمد علی بن یعقوب	محمد عیسیٰ بن شیخ عبد المجید صدیقی
میر محمد زاهد - ۹۵ - ۱۱۱ - ۱۳۱ - ۲۲۲	علی السندی (محمد عابد سندی)	جو ناظمی - ۲۸۰
۳۵۲ - ۳۷۸	محمد عابد دہلوی - ۳۸۳	محمد عیسیٰ بن الکریم سندھی
محمد زاهد بن قاضی محمد اسلم	محمد عابد سندھی - ۳۱۰ - ۴۲۳	برہان پوری - ۳۱۱
ہردی کاظمی ہندی (میرزا ہد)	۲۶۳ - ۲۹۰	محمد غوث پشاور - ۲۷۵
محمد سعید خاں - ۱۱۹	محمد عابد لاہوری - ۲۴۵ - ۴۱۸	محمد غوث شرف الملک - بن
محمد سلیم - ۳۸۲ - ۴۲۹	محمد عبد الاول جونپوری مصنف	نظام الدین - ۴۱۳ - ۴۱۹ - ۴۲۹
محمد شاہ - ۱۲۰ - ۱۳۱ - ۳۱۵ - ۳۳۱	مفید المفتی - ۲۷۲	محمد غوث گوایاری - ۹۹
محمد شاہ تعلق نامی - ۱۷۳	محمد عظیم بن کفایت اللہ فاروقی	محمد فضل اللہ - ۲۴۳
محمد شاہ والی گجرات - ۱۵۱	گوپا سہی - ۳۵۹	محمد فضل اللہ سندھی - ۳۰۴
محمد شریف خاں (حکیم شریف خاں دہلوی)	محمد علی بن ابی طالب المتخلص بہ حازم - ۲۴۶	محمد فضل حق بن فضل امام
محمد شریف کبھوہ - ۲۴۶ - ۲۵۷	محمد علی بن شیخ علی بن قاضی محمد	خیر آبادی (فضل الحق)
محمد شفیع دہلوی - ۲۴۳	حامد بن محمد صابرا لغاری فی التھانوی	محمد فقیر بن شاہ خوب اللہ آبادی - ۳۳۲
محمد شکور - ۴۲۳	۴۱۱	محمد فیروز بن محبت - ۳۶۲
محمد الشیبانی - ۷۱	محمد علی بن مرزا خیر اللہ - ۳۸۱	محمد قاسم بن داکم البردوانی
محمد صادق - ۳۵۲	محمد علی بن مفتی یار محمد الما لاہاری	۷۸۷
محمد صادق واعظ بن حافظ	۳۷۰	محمد قنوجی - ۴۱۰
محمد اشرف پشاور - ۳۷۰	محمد علی خاں نواب کرناٹک - ۲۶۲	محمد کاشف حنفی - ۴۲۲
محمد صالح لکھنوی - ۳۵۷	محمد علی غیاث پوری - ۸۹	محمد کاظم الملقب بہ حاذق الملک
محمد صدیقی - ۷۵	محمد علی شاہ - ۳۹۰	بن سعید مجتہد حیدر علی التستری

محمد اشرف بن ابو محمد العباسی الیردانی	محمد بن احمد بن علی البخاری (لقام الدین)	محمد بن محمد بن احمد میانجی - ۳۰۱
۳۵۷	اولیا	محمد بن موسیٰ الخوارزمی - ۷۰۶
محمد اشرف بن قاضی نعمت الله	محمد بن احمد میانجی بن نصیر گجراتی	محمد نعمت الله (ابن شریف)
لکهنوی - ۲۲۹	محمد بن ابوبکر بن عمر الدیلمی (الدیلمی)	محمد بن یحییٰ بن عبد الکرم - ۳۲۳
محمد اعلم السندی - ۲۸۵ - ۳۵۹	محمد بن ابوبکر البشلی - ۱۵۳	محمد بن ادر علی دہلوی - ۳۹۷
محمد اعلیٰ بن قاضی محمد حامد	محمد بن اسمعیل الخطیب نازل دہلوی	محمد سیرم خاں (خان خانان)
تقانی - ۲۸۵	۲۶۶	محمد بن ابیہ الہ آبادی - ۳۱۴
محمد افضل - ۱۱۰	محمد بن حسن بن طاہر جوہوری - ۲۹۸	محمد بن ابیہ الخطابی بالمستقد خاں
محمد افضل الہ آبادی - ۲۸۱ - ۳۱۱	محمد بن الحسن العلوی - ۳۴۴	(مستقد خاں)
محمد فضل جوہوری - ۳۰۹	محمد بن خلیف الدین - ۸۰ - ۳۰۴	محمد تفتق - ۲۶۶
محمد اکبر المعروف بحکیم ارزانی بن حاجی	محمد بن سید محمد الگدائی القنوجی	محمد جمیل صدیقی جوہوری - ۲۷۸
محمد مقیم (حکیم ارزانی)	الرسولدار - ۳۱۰	محمد جوہوری - ۳۷۸ - ۴۸۰ - ۱۱۰۰ - ۱۱۴۱
محمد اکرم بن محمد نعیم - ۳۷۷	محمد بن شیخ محمد بن شاہ محمد الفاروقی	محمد بن - ۳۸۱ - ۱۱۶۰ - ۱۱۹۰ - ۱۲۶۰
محمد بالغ خاں - ۱۲۷	جوہوری - ۳۰۹ - ۳۲۷ - ۴۰۶	محمد حسن بن غلام مصطفیٰ (ملا حسن)
محمد امجد بن محمد فیض الله صدیقی	محمد بن طاہر پٹنی - ۴۳۶ - ۵۲۰ - ۵۶۲	محمد حسن بن مفتی ابی حسن - ۳۷۵
قنوجی - ۳۶۶	۲۵۴ - ۴۰۳	محمد حسن لکهنوی - ۳۴۰
محمد امین کشمیری - ۳۵۳	محمد بن عبد الرحمن قنوجی - ۳۶۲	محمد حسین امام المدرسین - ۴۰۹
محمد انور بن نور الدین اکبر آبادی	محمد بن عبد العزیز - ۳۳۵	محمد حسین جوہوری - ۲۷۸
۳۳۴	محمد بن عبد العزیز کالیکوٹی العسکری	محمد حسین خاں - ۳۸۸
محمد باقر آگاہ مدرسی - ۲۱۳ - ۲۲۰ - ۲۶۴	۲۱۷ - ۲۶۴ - ۳۰۸	محمد حسین خاں شاہجہانپوری - ۱۸۸ - ۲۲۳ - ۲۸۸
محمد باقی - ۹۶	محمد بن عثمان بن عمر بلخی - ۳۶۶	۱۸۸ - ۲۲۳ - ۲۸۸
خواجہ محمد باقی - ۳۷۷	محمد بن عبد الله السندی - ۳۲۰	محمد حیات سندی - ۱۶۱ - ۲۵۷ - ۳۵۷
محمد بگلای بن سید عبد الجلیل	محمد بن علی فیض آبادی - ۳۳۸	۲۵۷ - ۲۵۹ - ۳۱۳ - ۳۳۱ - ۳۳۲
بگلای - ۴۱۹	محمد بن فضل الله - ۷۳	محمد حیدر - ۲۶۶
محمد بن احمد میانجی - ۳۰۱	محمد بن قاسم - ۴۲	محمد خیر الدین جوہوری - ۳۶۶

غازی خاں (قاضی نظام بخشائی)	فاضل ہندی - ۲۸۰ - ۳۱۱	بن شمس الدین بدایونی - ۳۳۵ - ۳۴۴
غزالی - ۱۸۰ - ۸۷ - ۹۷ - ۹۷	فتح محمد - ۳۴۳	فیض احمد بن شیخ محمد - ۳۷۵ - ۳۷۵
غلام احمد سرنگا پٹی - ۲۴۸	فتح محمد بن شیخ عیسیٰ برہانپوری - ۲۹۲	فیض اللہ خاں - ۲۷۲
غلام حسین رامپوری - ۳۳۸	فخر الدین بن نظام الحق - ۳۳۵	فیضی - ۲۰ - ۸۵ - ۱۹۱ - ۲۳۵
غلام حسین الشیخی الہ آبادی - ۲۶۱	فخر الدین رازی - ۱۱۹	۲۳۷ - ۲۴۰ - ۲۴۰ - ۲۴۰
غلام سبحان - ۳۷۶	فرخ سیر - ۳۵۵ - ۲۵۷	۲۳۷ - ۲۴۰ - ۲۴۰ - ۲۴۰
ید غلام علی آزاد پگرا می - ۱۰ - ۱۶۱	فرزدوق - ۲۰۴	
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۲۱۲ - ۲۱۳ - ۲۱۴ - ۲۱۵ - ۲۱۶	فرید الدین شکر گنج - (شکر گنج)	قامت بادشاہ مصر - ۱۵۳
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۲۲۸ - ۲۲۹ - ۲۳۰ - ۲۳۱ - ۲۳۲	الفراری - ۷	فرزدی (الکاتبی)
غلام علی مجیدی - ۳۱۷	فضل اللہ برہانپوری - ۱۸۹	تسلطانی (احمد بن محمد القسطلانی)
غلام محمد بن شیخ محی الدین بن شیخ	فضل اللہ جوہری - ۲۷۷	قشیری - ۷۹
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قاضی غلام محمد لاہوری - ۳۱۵	بہاری - ۷	النہروانی - ۱۲۵ - ۱۲۶ - ۱۲۷ - ۱۲۸ - ۱۲۹ - ۱۳۰
غلام مصطفیٰ ابن محمد الجاشی - ۳۷۷	فضل امام خیر آبادی - ۱۱۲ - ۱۳۰	قطب الدین شاہ ذوالکثیر - ۲۳۳
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غلام نبی شاہ جامپوری - ۳۷۷	فضل رسول بدایونی - ۲۳۰	قطب الدین الشہید بن عبد الحکیم
غلام نقشبند کھنوی - ۲۴۳ - ۲۴۴	فضیل بن شیخ جلال دجل کلبی - ۲۴۴	بن عبد الکریم سہاوی (ملا قطب شہید)
غلام یحییٰ - ۳۱۶	فیض اللہ بن عبد الرحیم شکارپوری - ۲۴۵	قطب الدین محمد بن علاؤ الدین احمد
غلام محیی بہاری - ۳۱۶ - ۳۱۷	فلسفی (مولال)	بن محمد بن قاضی محمود النہروانی المکی
غوث گوئیاری (محمد بن خیر الدین)	فلوگل - (FLUGEL) - ۳۴۳	الحنفی - (قطب الدین احمد بن علاؤ الدین)
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۳۴۳		
فارابی - ۱۰۹	فیروز شاہ تغلق - ۱۷۸ - ۲۷۸ - ۲۷۹	قطب الدین محمود بن محمد - ۱۳۰ - ۱۳۱
فاضل بن عارف لاہوری الشہیدانی	فیض احمد بن حافظ غلام احمد	قطب شاہ سلطان گوگندہ - ۱۵۳ - ۳۴۹
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عصند الدین الایچی - ۹۵۰۹۲	علی بن سید ولد ار علی - ۳۴۱	علی محمد - ۳۳۸
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علاء الدین بن شیخ منصور لاہوری	علی شریف رئیس الاطباء لکھنوی	۳۸۰
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۴۰۵	معصوم (بن معصوم)	عماد ظاری - ۲۳۶
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(مہاشی)	علی عادل شاہ "سلطان بجا پور"	عمر اسحاق غزنوی - ۳۵۹ - ۳۵۵ - ۳۵۴
علاء الدین علی بن ابی الخزم	۲۵۵ - ۳۴۷ - ۳۸۴	۲۵۵ - ۲۷۷ - ۲۹۳
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